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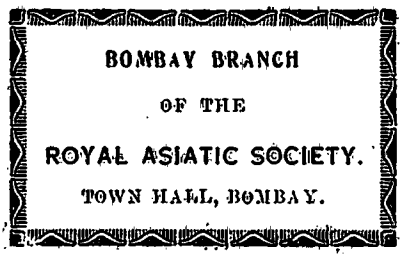

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THE LIFE

OF

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE.

BY WILLIAM HAZLITT.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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THE

LIFE OF NAPOLEON.

CHAPTER XII.

TREATY OF TOLENTINO.

Cardinal Busca had succeeded Cardinal Zelada in the situation of Secretary of State at Rome. He was avowedly hostile to the French, and wished to keep on the war by kindling the religious fanaticism of the Italians. A courier from the Cardinal to Monsignor Albani, the Roman *chargé d'affaires* at Vienna, was intercepted near La Mezzola on the 10th of January 1797, from whose dispatches the whole policy of the Vatican was disclosed. It appeared that the Pope was determined to break off the negociations with France, that he had entered into a league with Austria, and that the Emperor had impowered

General Colli to take the command of the troops that his Holiness was levying in Romagna. A courier was instantly dispatched to Cacault, the French minister, with orders to quit Rome. At the same time General Victor passed the Po at Borgo-Forte at the head of 4000 infantry and 600 horse; and joined the Italian division of 4000 men, commanded by General Lahoz at Bologna. Napoleon arrived here a few days after, and issued a manifesto, in which he accused the Papal Government of having violated the conditions of the armistice concluded at Bologna the preceding summer, and of having entered into an offensive alliance with the Court of Vienna. The intercepted letters of Cardinal Busca were published in support of this manifesto. They were also sent to Cardinal Mattei, who after having been confined three months in a seminary at Brescia had returned to Rome, and who kept up a correspondence with the General-in-Chief. Through his means these papers were communicated to the Sacred College, who were thrown into some confusion by a perusal of them.

On the 2d of February, head-quarters were fixed at the Bishop's palace at Imola, belonging to Chiaramonte, afterwards Pius VII. On the 3d the French troops reached Castel-Bolognese, and found the Pope's army on the opposite bank of the Senio, intending to dispute the passage

of the bridge. This army consisted of about 6000 or 7000 men, including regular soldiers and peasants collected by the ringing of the tocsin, commanded by monks, and wrought up to fanatical enthusiasm by preachers and missionaries. They had eight pieces of cannon. The French had had a fatiguing day's march. As they were stationing their guard, a flag of truce came up and declared in a pompous manner on the part of his eminence the Lord Cardinal as Commander-in-Chief that *if the French army continued to advance, he would fire upon it.* This threat excited much laughter among the French soldiers, who replied that *they did not wish to expose themselves to the Cardinal's thunders, and that they were going to take up their quarters for the night.* Cardinal Busca's hopes had however been fulfilled. All Romagna was in a flame; a holy war had been begun; the tocsin had been sounding incessantly for three days, and the lowest class of the people was thrown into a state of delirium and frenzy. Prayers of forty hours, missions in public places, indulgences, and even miracles—every engine, in short, had been set at work with success. Martyrs were bleeding in one place; Madonnas weeping in another; and every thing foreboded a scene of tumult and confusion. Cardinal Busca had boasted to the French minister that he would make a *La Vendée* of Romagna, of the mountains of Liguria,

nay of all Italy. The following proclamation was on this occasion posted at Imola. "The French army is about to enter the territories of the Pope. It will be faithful to the maxims it professes, and will protect religion and the people. The French soldier bears in one hand the bayonet, the sure harbinger of victory; in the other, the olive-branch, the symbol of peace and the pledge of his protection. Woe to those who may be seduced by men of finished hypocrisy to draw upon their homes the vengeance of an army which has in six months made prisoners of 100,000 of the Emperor's best troops, taken 400 pieces of cannon, and 110 standards, and destroyed five armies." There was perhaps a little too much of a tone of gasconade in the latter part of this address for the occasion.

At four o'clock on the following morning, General Lannes with the van of the little French army marched a league and a half up the bank of the Senio; crossed it at a ford at day-break; and drew up in line in the rear of the Pope's army, cutting it off from Faenza. General Lahoz, supported by a battery and covered by a cloud of skirmishers, passed the bridge in close column. The armed mob of the enemy was routed in an instant; artillery, baggage, and every thing was taken. Four or five hundred men were put to the sword, a few monks (mostly mendicants) perished with their crucifixes in their hands, but the

Cardinal-General escaped. The loss of the French was very trifling; they arrived before Faenza the same day. They found the gates shut; the tocsin sounded; the ramparts were lined with a few pieces of cannon; and the enraged populace assailed the besiegers with all sorts of abuse. When summoned to open the gates, they gave an insolent answer; and it became necessary to enter the town by main force. "This is the same thing that happened at Pavia," cried the soldiers, by way of demanding the pillage of the place. "No," replied Napoleon; "at Pavia they had revolted after taking an oath, and they wanted to massacre our soldiers who were their guests. These are only misled people, who must be subdued by clemency." In fact, a few convents only were attacked. The town was thus saved from devastation, and the next object was to calm the agitation and apprehensions of the people. The prisoners taken at the action of the Senio were collected at Faenza in a garden belonging to one of the convents. Their first terror had not yet subsided. At the approach of Napoleon they threw themselves on their knees, crying out for mercy. He addressed them in Italian in these words: "I am the friend of all the nations of Italy, and particularly of the people of Rome. You are free: return to your families, and tell them that the French are the friends of religion,

of order, and of the poor." The consternation of the prisoners now gave way to joy, and they abandoned themselves to the expression of their gratitude with all the liveliness that belongs to the Italian character. From the garden of the monastery Napoleon proceeded to the refectory, where he had caused the officers to be assembled; they amounted to several hundreds, and some of them belonged to the best families of Rome. He conversed with them a long time; talked of the liberty of Italy, the abuses of the Papal power, and the uselessness of resistance, and permitted them to go back to their homes, only requiring them in return for his lenity to make known his sentiments in favour of their countrymen. The prisoners proceeded to disperse themselves in the States of the Pope, loudly declaring the generous treatment they had met with, and carrying with them proclamations, which thus reached the remotest castles of the Apennines. The army in consequence found the people much more amicably disposed. Even the monks (with the exception of the mendicant friars) began to consider how much more they had to lose than to gain by resistance.

The French proceeded to overrun Romagna. Colli, who commanded the Pope's troops, had taken up a good position on the heights before Ancona with the 3000 men he had left, but retired to Loretto as soon as the French army came in

sight. General Victor sent a flag of truce to invite the enemy to surrender. During the parley, his troops outflanked them both on the right and the left, surrounded and took them prisoners, and entered the citadel of Loretto without firing a shot. The prisoners taken on this occasion were treated in the same manner as the former ones, that is, sent home with proclamations and a favourable report of the behaviour of the General-in-Chief towards them, which prepared the way for the reception of the French army. Ancona, though the only sea-port between Venice and Brindisi, the extreme point of the eastern coast of Italy, had been much neglected; even frigates could not enter it. It was at this period that Napoleon perceived what was necessary for the improvement of the fortifications and the repairs of the harbour, which were afterwards executed during the Kingdom of Italy, so that at present the port receives ships of all kinds, even three-deckers. The Jews, who were numerous at Ancona, as well as the Mahometans from Albania and Greece, had been subjected to humiliating customs and oppressive restraints, from which it was one of Napoleon's first cares to relieve them. In the meanwhile, the town's-people were running in crowds to prostrate themselves at the feet of a Madonna that was supposed to shed tears in abundance for the disasters of the country. Monge was sent to inquire into the circumstance, and the

Madonna was brought to head-quarters, when it was found to be an optical illusion, ingeniously managed by means of a glass. The following day the Madonna was restored to its place in the church, but without the glass, and consequently without performing any wonders. One of the chaplains was arrested as the contriver of this imposture, which was considered as an insult to the army, and an offence against religion.

On the 10th the French army encamped at Loretto. This is a bishopric, and contains a magnificent convent. The church and buildings are sumptuous; and there are vast and well-furnished apartments for the treasures of the Madonna, and for the accommodation of the abbots, the chapter, and the pilgrims. In the church is the celebrated *Casa Santa,* the pretended residence of the Virgin at Nazareth, and said to be the very place in which she received the visit of the angel Gabriel. It is a little cabin ten or twelve yards square, in which is a Madonna placed on a tabernacle. The legend states that the angels carried it from Nazareth into Dalmatia, at the time when the infidels conquered Syria; and from thence across the Adriatic to the heights of Loretto. From all parts of Christendom pilgrims flocked to see the Madonna. Presents, diamonds, and jewels sent from every quarter formed her treasures, which amounted to several millions in value. The Court of Rome, on

learning the approach of the French army, had the treasures of Loretto carefully packed up and placed in safety: property in gold and silver was, notwithstanding, left to the value of upwards of a million. The Madonna, or Lady of Loretto, was forwarded to Paris. It is a wooden statue clumsily carved, which is so far a proof of its antiquity. It was to be seen for some years at the National Library. The First Consul restored it to the Pope at the time of the *Concordat;* and it has been since replaced in the *Casa Santa.*

It is to be remarked here that several thousand French priests, exiled from their country, had taken refuge in Italy. As the French army advanced in the Peninsula, they fled into the Roman States, but they now found themselves without an asylum. Some had retired in time into Germany; Naples refused them shelter. The heads of the different convents in the States of the Pope, who were anxious to get rid of the burthen of feeding and maintaining them, made a pretext of the arrival of the army to turn their unfortunate guests out of doors, affecting to be apprehensive that their presence would draw down the vengeance of the victor on their heads. Napoleon published a proclamation, encouraging the priests, and ordering the convents, bishops, and different chapters to receive them and furnish them with every thing necessary for their subsistence and comfort. He

also commanded the army to look upon them as friends and fellow-countrymen, and to behave to them accordingly. As the army fell into the same sentiment, many interesting scenes were the consequence. Some of the soldiers found their former pastors again; and these unfortunate old men, banished many hundred miles from their native soil, received for the first time tokens of respect and affection from their countrymen, by whom they expected to be treated with the utmost harshness and indignity. Buonaparte, in reverting to this measure, speaks of it with considerable triumph, as exciting much talk in Europe, and as approved of by the Directory. If he was proud of it, on reflection, as an act of humanity and generosity towards those who were the objects of it, he was right; but if he speaks of it as a first step towards a reconciliation with men alike incapable of reason or gratitude, and as relying on any return from them, it was the commencement of "an Iliad of woes." It was a mistaken view of the nature of men and things. As well might he hold a parley with the sea, or take the sting out of the adder by a shew of courtesy. As men, and for the moment, they may be touched by suffering or compassion; but the Church is an abstraction that knows no mortifying vicissitudes, that sheds no tears and owns no worldly obligations; nor are her votaries slow to throw away the crutch of humility which sus-

tained them, and exchange it for the staff of power and spiritual dominion, which they grasp with redoubled rancour and cunning. See what this poor, persecuted, and compassionated race of men are doing at present in France; see what they do in Spain. You cannot cozen men out of purple pride and access to the ear of kings, by beggarly donations of rags and pity!

The greatest consternation now reigned in the Vatican. Disastrous news arrived every hour. The vanguard of the French army was already on the summit of the Apennines. The officers and soldiers who had been taken prisoners and allowed to return home, gave a very different account of things from what had been expected; so that the friends of liberty ventured once more to shew themselves, even within the walls of the city. The members of the Sacred College began to think of providing for their own safety, and the horses were already put to the court-carriages to proceed to Naples, when the General of the Camaldolites arrived at the Vatican, and prostrated himself at the feet of the Holy Father. Napoleon in passing through Cesena had noticed this ecclesiastic, and knowing that Pius VI. reposed great confidence in him, he had charged him to assure his Holiness that no harm was intended to him personally; that he might remain in Rome with safety, and had only to change his ministers and send plenipotentiaries

to Tolentino to conclude a peace with the Republic. The Pope agreed to these terms; dismissed Busca, countermanded his departure from Rome, and entrusted the direction of his cabinet and the conclusion of a peace to Cardinal Doria, who had been long distinguished for the liberality of his opinions. The instructions from the Directory were, it is true, against any negociation with Rome. They thought that an end should be put to the temporal power of the Pope, from whom neither moderation nor good faith could be expected, and that there could not be a better opportunity than the present; but the General-in-Chief was of opinion that this could not be done without at the same time overturning the throne of Naples, for which purpose an army of 20,000 or 25,000 men would be requisite; and the measure was therefore laid aside as inconsistent with Buonaparte's favourite project of dictating peace under the walls of Vienna.

The head-quarters of the French army were at Tolentino on the 13th of February, and the van was within three days' march of Rome. The Pope's Ministers-plenipotentiary, Cardinal Mattei, Monsignor Galeppi, the Duke of Braschi, and the Marquis Massini arrived the same day, and the conferences began on the 14th. The basis having been settled, the treaty was soon concluded; the principal articles were, that the Pope renounced

every offensive and defensive alliance with the powers at war with France; that he ceded the legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna to the Republic, allowing Ancona to be occupied by a French garrison till a general peace; that he was to cause his Minister at Paris to disavow the murder of Basseville; to re-establish the French school of art at Rome as before the Revolution; to make good all the indemnifications agreed upon in the armistice of Bologna, and to furnish an additional contribution of money and horses to the army. Buonaparte wished that the Court of Rome should undertake to suppress the Inquisition. But this point was given up as a particular favour to the Pope. It was represented that the Inquisition was no longer what it was, that it was little more than a tribunal of police, and that *auto-da-fés* no longer took place. But if it was at present reduced to a nonentity, why attach so much importance to it? If it was only a shadow, it was a terrible one, from which the mind shrunk with hatred and fear; why then keep up the forms of an obsolete power but as a receptacle for the spirit in case it should ever revive, or as a tacit justification and indirect avowal of all the horrors that had been committed under its sanction? The very name of the Inquisition is in itself an insult to common sense and humanity, from which all good and honest minds revolt. But by keeping up the outward form, the imagination is

familiarised with it, is taught to look upon it as harmless; the tendency, the pretensions of bigotry and fanaticism are still virtually acknowledged and kept in view by their adherents, and by always having the name ready, opportunity may not be wanting to restore the *thing!* Hence the tenaciousness with which its advocates uniformly adhere to every relic of arbitrary power, and hence the determination with which all such claims, grounded on their apparent insignificance, should be resisted. The whole science and study of social improvement may be reduced to watching the secret aim and rooted purpose of power, and in opposing it step by step and in exact proportion to the obstinacy of its struggles for existence. On the principle already stated, the French General did not accede to the wishes of the more sanguine patriots of the new Italian Republic to include Urbino and Macerata in its acquisitions, or extend its boundary to the frontiers of Naples, lest it should embroil the two governments in a war. Such were the apprehensions entertained by this Court on the subject, that Prince Pignatelli, its minister, followed the French staff from Bologna, resorting to the most contemptible expedients to satisfy his curiosity, and even playing the part of an eaves-dropper at the door of council-chambers to gain secret information.

After the signature of the treaty of Tolentino, the General-in-Chief left the superintendence of its

execution to General Victor: and dispatching Colonel Junot with a respectful letter to the Pope, returned to Mantua, which had now been a month in the power of the Republic, and was full of Austrian sick. While here, he eyed the fine frescoes of the War of the Titans by Titian in the palace *del T.* with admiration; but their removal was impossible. He had the fortifications repaired, and set out for Milan, where he found the public spirit highly favourable to his plans. At length the Directory, roused from its apathy, had sent six regiments of infantry and two of cavalry, under Bernadotte, from the army of the Sambre and Meuse, and an equal force from the Army of the Rhine, under General Delmas, to reinforce the Army of Italy. They had only just reached the foot of the Alps at the time of the battles of Rivoli and La Favorite and the surrender of Mantua; and it was not till his return from Tolentino that Napoleon reviewed these new troops. They were estimated at 30,000 men, but their actual strength did not exceed 19,000, in good condition and well-disciplined. The Army of Italy was henceforth equal to any enterprise, and to the enemy opposed to it.

CHAPTER XIII.

TREATIES OF LEOBEN AND CAMPO-FORMIO.

The Archduke Charles, who had lately acquired the highest renown in Germany, took the command of the Austrian armies of Italy, and advanced his head-quarters to Inspruck on the 6th of February 1797, whence he soon transferred them successively to Villach and Goritz. In the course of February his engineers visited the passes of the Julian and Noric Alps. They planned fortifications, which they were to construct as soon as the snow melted. Napoleon was impatient to anticipate them, and ardently hoped to attack the Archduke and chase him out of Italy before the arrival of a body of 40,000 men, whom the Aulic Council (feeling secure on that side) had detached from the armies on the Rhine, and who were marching through Germany to reinforce him.

Napoleon's army was composed of eight divisions of infantry and a reserve of cavalry, consisting of 53,000 infantry, 3000 artillery-men, serving 120 guns, and 5000 cavalry. The King of Sardinia was to have furnished a contingent of 10,000 troops; but the Directory, by refusing to

ratify the armistice of Bologna, deprived the French General of this resource; and the Venetians, with whom he had been in treaty for a similar aid, shewed so hostile a disposition that he was obliged to leave 10,000 men in reserve on the Adige to watch their motions. He had also hoped that the armies of the Sambre and Meuse and of the Rhine would have been united in one army of 120,000 men; and proceeding from Strasburg through Bavaria would have joined the Army of Italy, which, crossing the Tagliamento and the Julian Alps, would direct its march on the Simering, and both together, forming a body of near 200,000 men, enter Vienna, while an army of observation of 60,000 men defended Holland and blockaded Ehrenbretstein and the fortresses on the Rhine. But the Directory had no such thoughts in their head, and persisted, in spite of the experience of the last campaign, either from narrowness of mind or a mean jealousy, in keeping the armies separate.

There are three high roads from Italy to Vienna; the first, through the Tyrol by Trent, the pass of the Brenner, Saltzburg, and the Danube; the second, by Treviso, the Tagliamento, the Carnic Alps, Carinthia, and the Simering; the third through Carniola, Styria, and Gratz, joins the Carinthian road at Bruck. The Tyrolese communicates with the Carinthian road by five cross-roads, and the Carinthian with that of Carniola by three.

In the beginning of March, the Archduke's army was 50,000 strong; it was behind the Piave, covering Friuli, except 15,000, who were in the Tyrol. This army was to be joined in the course of April by the six divisions on their march from Germany, which would make it upwards of 90,000 men. So great a superiority of numbers justified the sanguine hopes of the Cabinet of Vienna. The French army at the same period was stationed as follows: three divisions, amounting to 17,000 men, were in the Tyrol under Joubert; Massena's, Augereau's, and Bernadotte's divisions, with General Dugua's division of cavalry, were in junction in the Bassanese and Trevisan countries, having advanced posts along the right bank of the Piave; Victor was still in the Apennines, but was expected to reach the Adige in the beginning of April with a *corps d'armée* and reinforcements, amounting to 20,000 men. When it was found that the Archduke had arrived at Inspruck on the 6th of February, it was concluded that he would collect his chief forces in the Tyrol, by which means the detachments from the Rhine would have been enabled to join the army twenty days earlier. Joubert received orders on this conjecture to take up some strong position and keep the enemy in check as long as he could, so as to give time to the other divisions to take the Archduke's army in flank by the gorges of the Brenta. But the Archduke,

adhering to the plan laid down for him by the Aulic Council, threw himself into the Friuli, at a distance from his reinforcements, and thus gave the French General an opportunity of attacking him before the arrival of the divisions of the Rhine, which were still twenty days' march behind. Napoleon in consequence fixed his head-quarters at Bassano on the 9th of March, whence he addressed the following order of the day to the army: "Soldiers! the taking of Mantua has now put an end to the war of Italy, and given you lasting claims to the gratitude of your country. You have been victorious in fourteen pitched battles and seventy actions: you have taken 100,000 prisoners, 500 field-pieces, 2000 heavy cannon, and four pontoon-trains. The contributions laid on the countries you have conquered have fed, maintained, and paid the army; besides which, you have sent thirty millions to the Minister of Finance for the use of the public treasury. You have enriched the Museum at Paris with three hundred masterpieces of the arts of ancient and modern Italy which it required thirty centuries to produce. You have conquered the finest countries in Europe. The Transpadan and Cispadan Republics are indebted to you for their existence. The French flag waves for the first time on the shores of the Adriatic, opposite the native country of Alexander, and within twenty-four hours' sail of it. The Kings of

Sardinia and Naples, the Pope, and the Duke of Parma are separated from the Coalition. You have expelled the English from Leghorn, Genoa, and Corsica. Yet higher destinies await you: you will prove yourselves worthy of them! Of all the foes who conspired to stifle the Republic in its birth, the Emperor alone remains before you. He has now no other policy or will than those of that perfidious Cabinet, which, unacquainted with the horrors of war, smiles with satisfaction at the woes of the Continent. The Executive Directory has spared no effort to give peace to Europe; and the moderation of its proposals was uninfluenced by the strength of its armies. It has not been listened to at Vienna: there is therefore no hope of obtaining peace but by seeking it in the heart of the Hereditary States. You will there find a brave people. You will respect their religion and manners, and protect their property. It is liberty that you carry to the brave Hungarian nation!"

It was necessary to pass the Piave and the Tagliamento in the presence of the Austrian army, and to turn its right, in order to anticipate it at the gorges of Ponteba. Massena marched from Bassano, passed the Piave in the mountains, beat Lusignan's division, taking himself prisoner, and drove the wreck of his troops beyond the Tagliamento, taking Feltre, Cadore, and Belluno. Serrurier marched in the morning of the 12th of March

on Conegliano, where the Austrian head-quarters were; and by this diversion enabled Guieux's division to effect the passage of the Piave in the afternoon at Ospedaletto before Treviso. The river is deep here, but the eagerness of the soldiers disregarded every difficulty. A drummer was the only person in danger, who was saved by a woman that swam after him. Bernadotte with his division coming from Padua, joined the head-quarters at Conegliano on the following day. The enemy had chosen the plains of the Tagliamento for his field of battle, which were favourable to his excellent and numerous cavalry. On the 16th, at nine o'clock in the morning, the two armies met near Valvasone on the two banks of the river, the French being drawn up on the right bank, and the Austrian army, in nearly equal force, on the opposite side. This position of the Archduke did not cover the Ponteba road, which was left open to Massena. Perhaps the Archduke thought that a division of grenadiers on its march from the Rhine, and which had reached Klagenfurth, would be in time to reinforce Ocskay's division and to oppose Massena.

The cannonade began from one bank of the Tagliamento to the other; the light cavalry making several attempts to pass the stream. But the French troops, seeing the enemy so well prepared, ceased firing, set up the bivouacs, and prepared

their mess. The Archduke deceived by this appearance, thought, as they had marched all night, they were taking up a position. He fell back, and returned into his camp. Two hours afterwards, when all was quiet, the French soldiers suddenly got under arms. Duphot at the head of the 27th light demi-brigade, being Guieux's van, and Murat with the 15th light demi-brigade, Bernadotte's van, each supported by its division, each regiment with its second battalion deployed, and its first and third in column by divisions at platoon distance, rushed into the river. The enemy flew to arms: but the whole of this first line had already passed in the finest order, and was drawn up in line of battle on the left bank. The cannonade and musquetry began in all directions. General Dugua's division of cavalry of reserve and Serrurier's division formed the second line, and passed the river as soon as the first line had advanced two hundred yards from the shore. After some hours' fighting, and several charges of infantry and cavalry, the enemy having been repulsed in the attacks on the villages of Gradisca and Codroipo, and finding themselves turned in a successful charge made by Dugua's division, beat a retreat, abandoning eight pieces of cannon and some prisoners to the victors.

In the mean while, Massena had effected his passage at San Danieli: he met with little resistance, and occupied Osopo, the key of the Pon-

teba road, which the enemy had neglected. He was thus master of the gorges of the Ponteba, and forced the remains of Ocskay's division to retreat on Tarwis. The Archduke being now unable to retreat by way of Carinthia, because Massena occupied Ponteba, resolved to regain that road by Udine, Cividale, Caporetto, and Tarwis. Marching with the rest of his army by Palma-Nuova and Gradisca, he sent forward three divisions and his parks under General Bayalitsch in that direction; but Massena was only two days' march from the pass of Tarwis, and Bayalitsch was six. The Archduke soon perceived the danger in which the latter was, hastened in person to Klagenfurth on the other side of the Alps, placing himself at the head of the division of grenadiers which he found just arrived there, and returned to take up a position before Tarwis to oppose Massena's progress. Massena who had pushed forward after some delay, found the Archduke's forces formed in a line, consisting of the remains of Ocskay's troops and the fine division of grenadiers from the Rhine. The action was obstinate, the importance of victory being felt on both sides: the Austrians knew that if Massena made himself master of the pass of Tarwis, the three Austrian divisions on their march through the valley of the Isonzo were lost. The Prince exposed himself to the greatest dangers, and was repeatedly on

the point of being taken by the French skirmishers. General Brune behaved on this occasion with distinguished bravery. The Austrians were at length broken, but not till they had engaged their very last battalion in the action: they could operate no retreat, but the remains of their force made for Villach beyond the Drave in order to rally there. Massena being in possession of Tarwis waited there for the approach of the divisions which had been ordered to take this route from the field of battle of the Tagliamento.

The day after this battle, the Austrian headquarters had entered Palma-Nuova, a fortress belonging to the Venetians, but quitted it immediately. The French who were in their rear, left a garrison there. Bernadotte's division appeared before Gradisca, intending to pass the Isonzo, but found the gates shut, and the Governor refused a parley. This General attempted to take the place by assault and lost upwards of 400 men, an imprudence for which the only excuse was the eagerness of the troops of the Sambre and Meuse to distinguish themselves and enter Gradisca before the old troops of the Army of Italy. The General-in-Chief had at the same time proceeded with Serrurier's division to the left bank of the Isonzo by the Montefalcone road. There not being time to construct a bridge, Colonel Andreossy threw himself in first to sound the depth, and the

soldiers followed his example up to the middle in the water, under a brisk fire of two battalions of Croats. As soon as the Governor of Gradisca perceived Serrurier on the heights overlooking the town, he surrendered a prisoner of war with 3000 men, two standards, and twenty field-pieces with their teams. Head-quarters were at Goritz the next day. Bernadotte's division marched on Laybach. General Dugua with 1000 horse took possession of Trieste, where the English merchandize was confiscated, and quicksilver to the value of several millions of francs was found in the Imperial warehouses from the mine of Idria. Serrurier marched from Goritz up the Isonzo through Caporetto and the Austrian Chiusa to support General Guieux, who had followed Bayalitsch's divisions, and had greatly annoyed his rear. On his reaching Chiusa di Pieta, the Austrians thought themselves safe; for they did not know that Massena had been two days in possession of Tarwis. They were attacked in front by Massena and in the rear by Guieux. The position of Chiusa, though strong, could not withstand the 4th of the line, called the *Impetuous*. This demi-brigade climbed the mountain that commands the left, and thus turning this important post, left Bayalitsch no resource but to lay down his arms. His baggage, guns, and colours were all taken. The prisoners however

did not amount to more than 5000, as great numbers of soldiers, natives of Carniola and Croatia, had disbanded themselves in the passes when they found all was lost, and endeavoured to reach their respective villages.

Head-quarters were successively fixed at Caporetto, Tarwis, Villach, and Klagenfurth. The army passed the Drave over Villach bridge, which the enemy had not time to burn. It was now in the valley of the Drave in Germany, having passed the Carnic and Julian Alps. The language, manners, climate, soil, and state of cultivation were all different from those of Italy. The soldiers were pleased with the hospitality and simplicity of the peasants. The abundance of vegetables and quantities of waggons and horses were also very useful. In Italy there were only carts drawn by oxen, whose slow and clumsy pace did not suit the vivacity and impatience of the French. The army occupied the castles of Goritz, Trieste, and Laybach. The two divisions from the Rhine under Kaim and Mercantin, which had now reached Klagenfurth, endeavoured to defend that place, but were repulsed with loss. Klagenfurth was surrounded with a bastioned wall, which had for ages been neglected. The engineer-officers filled the ditches with water, repaired the parapets, demolished the houses built on the ramparts, and established hospitals and magazines of

every kind in the place. As a *point d'appui*, at the entrance of the mountains, it seemed to be important. A proclamation was distributed here in French, German, and Italian, addressed to the inhabitants of Carinthia, Carniola, and Istria, laying the blame of the war on English gold and the treachery of the Austrian Cabinet, and offering them the good-will and protection of the General-in-Chief, which had some effect in calming the minds of the people.

Ten days had elapsed since the opening of the campaign in Friuli, while in the Tyrol both armies had remained inactive. The Austrian general Kerpen was hourly expecting the arrival of the two divisions from the Rhine: Joubert on his part had received no orders to attack, but only to keep the enemy in check on the Avisio. But immediately after the battle of the Tagliamento, when Napoleon had resolved to penetrate by the Carinthian road with his whole army into Germany, he dispatched orders to General Joubert to beat the enemy to whom he was superior, drive him beyond the Brenner, and then march by facing to the right by the Pusterthal along the road that runs by the side of the Drave to join the army at Spital in Carinthia. Buonaparte ordered him to leave a brigade to defend the Avisio, and to fall back in case of need on Montebaldo; though he knew that when the

French army should arrive victorious on the Simering, menacing Vienna, all that might occur in the Lower Tyrol would be of secondary importance. General Joubert executed these orders with promptitude and ability. On the 20th of March, he commenced his movement. He passed the Avisio at Segonzano, while Delmas and Baraguay d'Hilliers passed it over Lavis. bridge, and directing their march in concert toward St. Michael attacked General Kerpen, and routed him with the loss of half his men, while Landon's corps, separated from him by the Adige, stood idly looking on. Joubert then advanced directly on Neumarck, took that place after some resistance, and passing the bridge defeated and dispersed the troops under General Landon, who could not make a stand against him. Bolzano, a rich trading town, full of stores, fell into the hands of the French. In the mean time, the first Austrian division of the Rhine under General Sporck had reached Clausen. Kerpen rallied the remains of his corps in the rear of this division; and stationed in a position which he deemed impregnable, waited for the victor. The obstacles presented by the nature of the ground were indeed immense; but the heroism and intrepidity of the French troops prevailed over them. Kerpen now retreated on Mittenwald, thus leaving the Pusterthal road leading into Carinthia open to Jou-

bert; but he did not choose to avail himself of it with the enemy so close in his rear. He therefore followed him, and in an action on the 28th of March, in which a charge of cavalry by General Dumas contributed greatly to the success of the day, defeated him for the third time, and forced him to evacuate Sterzing, and retreat on the Brenner. The alarm spread to Inspruck, as it was thought he was marching on that place to effect his junction with the Army of the Rhine; a step that would have been sufficiently fatal. But there being now no obstacle to prevent him from fulfilling his orders, he began his march by the Pusterthal road, calling in all his posts from the Tyrol, except a reserve of 1200; and shortly after joined the General-in-Chief with 12,000 men. Thus in less than twenty days the Archduke's army had been defeated in two pitched battles and several actions, and driven beyond the Brenner, the Julian Alps, and the Isonzo: Trieste and Fiume, the only two sea-ports of the monarchy, were in possession of the enemy. The French head-quarters were in Germany, not more than sixty leagues from Vienna. Every thing seemed to indicate that in the course of May the victorious armies would be in possession of that capital; for Austria had not above 80,000 men left, while the French armies of the Sambre and Meuse and of the Rhine amounted alone to above 130,000 men.

The news of these events succeeding each other, struck the inhabitants of Vienna with dismay. The capital was menaced, and was destitute of all effectual means of resistance. The most valuable effects and important papers were packed up. The Danube was covered with boats, which were transporting goods into Hungary, whither also the young Archdukes and Archduchesses were sent. Among these was the Archduchess Maria Louisa, then five years and a half old. The people complained that the ministry did not think of making peace, though they had no means of stopping the progress of the French arms. The Armies of the Rhine and Moselle and of the Sambre and Meuse were by agreement to have opened the campaign, and passed the Rhine on the same day that the Army of Italy passed the Piave; and were to advance as speedily as possible into Germany. When Napoleon sent home an account of the battle of the Tagliamento, he announced that he should pass the Julian Alps in a few days, and enter the heart of Germany; that between the 1st and 10th of April he should be at Klagenfurth, the capital of Carinthia, that is to say, within sixty leagues of Vienna; and before the 20th of April, on the top of the Simering, twenty-five leagues from Vienna: that it was therefore of importance that the Armies of the Rhine should put themselves in motion, and that he should be apprised

of their march. The Government on the 23d of March wrote to him in answer, complimenting him on the victory of the Tagliamento, stating reasons why the Armies of the Rhine had not taken the field, and assuring him that they would march forthwith; when, three days after, the Ministers wrote to say that Moreau's army could not take the field, that it was in want of boats to effect the passage of the Rhine, and that the Army of Italy was not to reckon on the co-operation of the Armies of Germany, but on itself alone. These dispatches, which reached Klagenfurth on the 31st of March, gave rise to many conjectures. Was the Directory apprehensive that these three armies, comprising all the forces of the Republic, might, if united under one commander, render him too powerful? Were they intimidated by the reverses which the Army of the Rhine had suffered the year before? Was this strange pusillanimity to be ascribed to a want of vigour and resolution in the Generals? That was impossible. Or was there an intention to sacrifice the Army of Italy, as had been attempted in June 1796, by sending one-half of it against Naples? It is not wonderful that Buonaparte, in ruminating over his disappointment, should have formed designs of getting rid of this knot of drivellers and marplots, who would not do any thing themselves nor let others, and who prejudiced the public cause, out of a mean jealousy

that it might redound to the credit or influence of those who were capable of advancing it in the noblest manner. It is so far the misfortune of Republican institutions, that those who are placed at the head of them cannot repose on mere external dignity, independently of merit or services; and are therefore more disposed to look with jaundiced eyes on talents or exertions that eclipse their own, and to which of course they ought in justice to yield the precedence. An hereditary pre-eminence, not founded on worth or capacity, cannot be supposed to be jealous of it, or to suffer in the comparison with pretensions that are quite foreign to its own. The danger on this side is not from a spirit of rivalry of popular pretensions, but from a total ignorance and contempt for them!— As Napoleon could no longer calculate on the assistance of these two armies, he was obliged to relinquish all thoughts of making his entrance into Vienna; he had not sufficient cavalry to descend into the plain of the Danube; but he thought he might safely advance to the summit of the Simering, and that the most advantageous use he could make of his present position was to conclude a peace, which was the general wish of all France.

Within twelve hours from the receipt of the dispatches of the Directory, Buonaparte wrote to Prince Charles in these terms: "While brave soldiers carry on war, they wish for peace. Has

not this war already lasted six years? Have we not killed men enough, and inflicted sufficient sufferings on the human race? Humanity calls loudly upon us. Europe has laid down the arms she took up against the French Republic. Your nation alone perseveres; yet blood is to flow more copiously than ever. Fatal omens attend the opening of this campaign. But whatever be its issue, we shall kill some thousands of men on both sides; and after all we must come to an understanding, since all things have an end, not excepting vindictive passions. The Executive Directory of the French Republic communicated to his Majesty the Emperor its wish to put an end to the war which afflicts both nations. The intervention of the Court of London defeated this measure. Is there no hope of arrangement? And must we, on account of the passions and interests of a people which is a stranger to the horrors of the war, continue to slaughter each other? You, General, whose birth places you so near the throne, and above those petty passions which often actuate ministers and governments, are you disposed to merit the title of a benefactor to the whole human race, and the saviour of Germany? Do not imagine, Sir, that I mean to deny that it may be possible to save Germany by force of arms; but even supposing the chances of war should become favourable to you, the country would nevertheless be

ravaged. For my part, General, if the overture I have the honour to make to you should only save the life of a single man, I should feel more proud of the civic crown I should think I thereby merited than of all the melancholy glory that the most distinguished military successes can afford."

On the 2d of April, Prince Charles replied as follows: "Most certainly, General, whilst I carry on war in obedience to the call of honour and duty, I am desirous, as you are, of peace, for the sake of the people and of humanity. Nevertheless, as it does not belong to me in the functions with which I am entrusted, to inquire into or terminate the quarrel of the belligerent nations, and as I am not furnished with any powers to treat on the part of his Majesty the Emperor, you will not consider it extraordinary that I do not enter into any negociation with you, and that I wait for superior orders on this important subject, which is not essentially within my province. But whatever may be the future chances of war, or whatever hopes of peace may exist, I beg you to rest convinced, General, of my esteem and particular consideration."

In order to second this overture for negociation, it was important to march forward and approach Vienna. On the 1st of April at break of day, Massena advanced on Freisach. In front of the castle, he met with the enemy's rearguard; he attacked them briskly, and entered the town pell-mell with

them, continuing the pursuit almost as far as Neumarck, where he found the Archduke with four battalions from the Rhine and the remains of his old armies, drawn up to defend the gorges of Neumarck. The General-in-Chief immediately ordered Massena, with all his division, to join on the left of the high road: placed Guieux's division on the heights to the right, and Serrurier's in reserve. At three in the afternoon, the second light infantry charged the enemy's first line, and performed wonders. These troops came from the Rhine, and had been called in contempt the *contingent*, in allusion to the troops furnished by the German princes, which were supposed to be none of the best. Piqued by this appellation, they challenged the old soldiers of the Army of Italy to go as fast and as far as they did. Prince Charles on this occasion exposed himself to the greatest personal danger, but in vain; he was driven from all his positions and lost 3000 men. At night the French troops entered Neumarck. Scheiffling was still twelve leagues off, where, it was hoped by the Archduke, General Kerpen might join by the third cross-road leading from the Tyrol; and to gain time, he proposed a suspension of arms for twenty-four hours, but Berthier replied that they might fight and negociate at the same time. Napoleon sent forward strong reconnoitring parties, and went in person to meet Kerpen; but that corps had

fallen back, and its rearguard under Sporck was only slightly harassed. On the 4th and 5th the head-quarters remained at Scheiffling, a castle situated on the banks of the Muer. From Scheiffling to Knittenfeld the road runs along the Muer, through formidable defiles. Positions which might have stopped the French army were to be found at every step. On the 3d the van had a furious engagement with the enemy in the defiles of Unzmarkt. The loss of the Austrians was considerable; Colonel Carrère, a distinguished and brave officer commanding the artillery of the French vanguard, was killed; his death was much regretted. One of the frigates taken at Venice was named after him; and it was one of those with which Napoleon sailed from Egypt, when he returned to France and landed at Frejus.

After the action at Unzmarkt, the army met with no further resistance, and reached Leoben on the 7th. Lieutenant-General Bellegarde, the Archduke's adjutant, and Major-General Merfeld presented themselves at this place under a flag of truce, with a note from the Emperor, offering a suspension of arms to treat for a definitive peace. Napoleon the same day gave answer, that though a suspension of arms was wholly prejudicial to the French army, yet as a step towards that desirable object he was willing to agree to it. The armistice was accordingly signed in the evening of the 7th,

and was to last five days. The whole country, as far as the Simering, was to be occupied by the French. Gratz, one of the largest towns of the Austrian monarchy, was surrendered with its citadel. General Berthier, at dinner, asked the Austrian commissioners where they supposed Bernadotte's division to be? "About Laybach," was the reply. "And Joubert's?" "Between Brixen and Mulbach." "No," answered he; "they are all in echelons; the most distant is only a day's march behind." At this they were much surprised. General Leclerc, an intrepid officer and skilful negociator, was sent to Paris to acquaint the Government with the signature of the armistice.

The French General-in-Chief had sent his aide-de-camp Lavalette at the head of a party of cavalry from Klagenfurth, on the 30th of March, to meet General Joubert, who was still detained in the Tyrol. Lavalette proceeded as far as Lienz, where the town's-people, perceiving that the French were but sixty men, took up arms against them, and the detachment was with difficulty saved by the coolness and intrepidity of its commander; one dragoon only was assassinated. The inhabitants were afterwards punished for this violence. On the 8th of April, Joubert arrived at Spital near Villach, so as to form the left of the army. He had his prisoners, which were very numerous, immediately removed into the rear. Bernadotte,

having received orders to join the army at Leoben, left General Friand with a column of 1500 men to cover Fiume and keep Carniola in awe. On the 6th of April this column was attacked by a body of 6000 Croats, and was obliged to fall back on Materia near Trieste. This event, exaggerated like those which had occurred in the Tyrol, was eagerly caught hold of at Venice, and was one chief cause of the hostility and commotions which produced the downfal of that state. The armistice expired on the 13th; but at nine in the morning Count Merfeld, accompanied by the Marquis de Gallo, ambassador from Naples to Vienna, arrived with full powers to negociate and sign preliminaries of peace. A farther armistice was concluded till the 20th. On the 16th three plans were agreed upon and sent to Vienna; and the next day, the answer of the Cabinet of Vienna was brought by Baron Vincent, the Emperor's aide-de-camp. General Clarke had been furnished with full powers on the part of the French government, but he was then at Turin. As it required time for him to reach head-quarters, Napoleon took the responsibility upon himself, and signed the treaty. General Clarke arrived a few days after. The Austrian plenipotentiaries had set down as the first article, that the Emperor acknowledged the French Republic. "Strike that out," said Napoleon: "the Republic is like the sun which shines by its own light; none but the blind

can fail to see it." Buonaparte gives as a politic reason for what appears only a natural burst of romantic enthusiasm, that in case the French people had afterwards wished to establish a monarchy, the Emperor might have objected that he had only acknowledged the Republic. This was prying narrowly into futurity for difficulties, and looks too much like a deep-laid scheme to extinguish that light which was said to shine so bright! It was stipulated by the preliminaries that the definitive treaty should be settled at Berne, and the peace of the Empire referred to another Congress to be held in a German city. The limits of the Rhine were guaranteed to France. The Oglio was to divide the States of the house of Austria in Italy from the Cisalpine Republic. Mantua was to be restored to the Emperor, while the Republic gained Venice, with the legations of Ferrara, Bologna, and Romagna annexed to it, as a compensation for the loss of its possessions on the Terra Firma. By this arrangement the French armies communicated with Venice by Milan, and could at any time take possession of it when it suited their convenience. This blow was suspended over Venice in retaliation of the spirit which had just broken out there, and of the murders committed in the rear of the army, of which accounts had been transmitted by General Kilmaine. An insurrectionary cockade was displayed at Venice, and the English Minister wore it

in triumph, having also the Lion of St. Mark on his gondola.

On the 27th of April the Marquis de Gallo presented the preliminaries, ratified by the Emperor, to the French General-in-Chief at Gratz. While waiting for the ratification of the Executive Directory, several overtures were made by the Emperor's plenipotentiaries, and the aide-de-camp Lemarrois carried the answers to Vienna. He was well received; and this was the first time that the tri-coloured cockade had been seen in that capital. It was in a conference at Gratz that one of the plenipotentiaries, authorised by an autograph letter of the Emperor, is said to have offered Napoleon, on the conclusion of a peace, a sovereignty of 250,000 souls for himself and family in Germany, in order to place him beyond the reach of republican ingratitude. The General smiled, and having desired the plenipotentiary to thank the Emperor for this proof of the interest he took in his welfare, said he wished for no greatness or wealth unless conferred on him by the French people, adding—"And with that support, believe me, Sir, my ambition will be satisfied."* Adjutant-General Des-

* The Commander of Este, brother to the Duke of Modena, wanted to purchase the friendship of the French General by placing four chests, containing a million of francs each, at his disposal. "Not for four millions," replied Napoleon, "will I put myself in the power of the Commander of Este." The Venetians tried the same thing.

solles was dispatched to Paris with the news of the opening of the negociations; and Massena, who had contributed so much to it by the share he had in almost every victory, carried the preliminary treaty of peace to the Directory.

Hoche had just been promoted to the command of the Army of the Sambre and Meuse. He was a young man full of talent, bravery, and ambition; he had an army of 80,000 men under his command, and his heart swelled with impatience at the news of every victory that arrived from the Army of Italy. He importuned the Directory to allow him to enter Germany. On the 18th of April he passed the Rhine at the bridge of Neuwied, whilst Championnet, who had marched from Dusseldorf, reached Uckerath and Altenkirchen. Kray commanded the Austrian army. Hoche attacked him at Heddersdorf, took a great number of prisoners, and forced him to fall back on the Maine. On the 22d, he arrived before Frankfort, when General Kray's staff transmitted to him dispatches from Berthier, informing him of the signature of the treaty of Leoben, and he immediately concluded an armistice. Moreau was at Paris, soliciting the paltry sum of 30,000 or 40,000 crowns to pay for pontoons to pass the Rhine at Strasburg; but as soon as Desaix, who commanded the Army of the Rhine in his absence, learned that Hoche was engaged with the enemy, he constructed a bridge on the 20th at

the village of Kilstett, several leagues below Strasburg. On the 21st, at two in the morning, the army passed the Rhine. Moreau, who had posted with all possible speed from Paris, found himself at the head of the army, just as Starray, who had collected 20,000 men and twenty pieces of cannon, was attacking it. The Austrians were routed, and left a number of prisoners and their cannon in the power of the conquerors. Among other booty taken was Kinglin's waggon, containing Pichegru's correspondence with the Prince of Condé, which Moreau kept secret for four months without communicating it to the Government. After this victory, the Army marched up the Rhine, and took Kehl. The van had proceeded beyond Offenbach in the valley of the Kintzig, when a courier arriving from Leoben, Moreau put a stop to hostilities, and concluded an armistice with Starray. Thus the zeal and efforts of the armies were rendered fruitless. But the war was conducted on a bad system, without energy or concert. By one of the clauses of the Constitution of the year 3, the treasury was made independent of the Government—an error which was alone sufficient to endanger the existence of the Republic.

During the months of May and June, the French head-quarters were fixed at Montebello, a castle situated a few leagues from Milan, on a hill which commands a view of the whole plain of Lombardy.

The daily assemblage here of the principal ladies of Milan to pay their court to Josephine, the wife of the General-in-Chief; the presence of the Ministers of Austria, the Pope, the Kings of Naples and Sardinia, the Republics of Genoa and Venice, the Duke of Parma, the Swiss Cantons, and of several of the German Princes; the attendance of all the Generals, of the authorities of the Cisalpine Republic, and the deputies of the towns; the great number of couriers going and returning every hour to and from Paris, Rome, Naples, Vienna, Florence, Venice, Turin, and Genoa, and the style of living at this fine castle induced the Italians to call it the *Court of Montebello.* The mind takes pleasure in reverting to this short period of gaiety and romance, followed by such mighty achievements and such sad reverses. It was in fact a brilliant scene. The negociations for peace with the Emperor, the political affairs of Germany, and the fate of the King of Sardinia, of Switzerland, Venice, and Genoa were here suspended in the balance. The Court of Montebello made several excursions to the Lago Maggiore, the Borronean Isles, and the Lake of Como; taking up its temporary residence in the several country-houses which surround these beautiful spots. Every town and village was eager to testify its homage and respect to him whom they then considered, and still consider, as the *Liberator of Italy.* These

circumstances all together made a strong impression on the Diplomatic Body. General Serrurier carried the last colours taken from the Archduke to the Directory, with a highly commendatory letter from Buonaparte, in which he characterised him as one who was severe to himself and sometimes to others. He took a journey into his native department of the Aisne; and though of very moderate revolutionary principles, he returned to the army a warm and decided supporter of the Republic, having been highly incensed at the spirit of disaffection and vacillation he had observed in Paris.

The exchange of the ratifications of the preliminaries of Leoben took place at Montebello on the 24th of May between Napoleon and the Marquis de Gallo. A question of etiquette arose for the first time: the Emperors of Germany did not give the Kings of France the alternative; the Cabinet of Vienna was somewhat apprehensive that the Republic would not acknowledge this custom, and that the other powers of Europe, following the example of the French, would oblige the Holy Roman Empire to descend from that sort of supremacy it had enjoyed ever since the time of Charlemagne. It was in the first ecstasies of the Austrian Minister at the acquiescence of France in the customary etiquette, that he renounced the idea of the Congress of Berne, and agreed to the following as the basis of a definitive treaty: 1. The

boundary of the Rhine for France; 2. Venice and the boundary of the Adige for the Emperor; 3. Mantua and the boundary of the Adige for the Cisalpine Republic. Clarke, who was associated with Napoleon on this critical emergency, had been a captain in the Orleans dragoons when the Revolution broke out. From 1789 he attached himself to the Orleans party. In 1795 he was placed by the Committee of Public Safety at the head of the Topographical Department. Being patronised by Carnot, he was chosen by the Directory in 1796 to make overtures of peace to the Emperor, for which purpose he went to Milan. But the real object of his mission was less to open a negociation than to act as a secret agent of the Directory at head-quarters, and to watch the General, whose victories already began to give umbrage. Napoleon was aware of this; but being convinced that it is necessary for governments to have information, was glad they had entrusted this task to a man of known ability rather than to one of those subaltern agents who pick up the most absurd reports in antichambers and taverns. He therefore encouraged Clarke, and employed him in several negociations with Sardinia and the Princes of Italy. Clarke's genius was not military; he was an official man, exact and upright in business, and a great enemy to knaves. He was descended from one of the Irish families that accompanied the

Stuarts in their misfortunes. His foible was that of priding himself on his ancestry, and he rendered himself ridiculous in the Imperial reign by genealogical researches, which were strangely at variance with the opinions he had professed, the course of his life, and the circumstances of the times. In the time of the Empire, Clarke rendered important services by the integrity of his administration; and it has been remarked as the greatest blot upon his memory that towards the end of his career he belonged to a ministry that made France pass under the *Caudine Forks*, by consenting to the disbanding of an army that had for twenty-five years been its country's glory, and by giving up to astonished Europe her still invincible fortresses.

Count Merfeld arrived at Montebello on the 19th of June. By him the Cabinet of Vienna disavowed the Marquis de Gallo's concessions, and refused to treat, except in the Congress of Berne. There was an evident change of plan. Was this owing to a new Coalition, to the advance of the Russian armies, to the effects of Pichegru's conspiracy, or to the civil war which ravaged the departments of the West, and which, it was hoped, might soon spread over all France, and put the supreme power into the hands of the insurgents? The Austrian plenipotentiaries had nothing to reply when Napoleon observed that England and Russia would never consent to give up Venice to

the Emperor, and that it was a vain pretext to wait to treat in conjunction with them. Thugut sent new instructions and agreed to a separate negociation. Buonaparte withdrew from this doubtful negociation, leaving Clarke to manage it, and passed all July and August at Milan. Austria was watching to see the result of the troubles in France. The events of the 18th of Fructidor baffled all her hopes. Count Cobentzel then hastened to Udine, invested with full powers by the Emperor, whose entire confidence he possessed. Napoleon proceeded to Passeriano; Clarke having been recalled, he was now the only plenipotentiary on the part of France. The conferences were held alternately at Udine and at Passeriano. The four Austrian plenipotentiaries sat on one side of a rectangular table; at the two ends were the Secretaries of Legation; and on the other side was the French plenipotentiary. When the conferences were held at Passeriano, the dinner was given by Napoleon; when at Udine, it was given by Count Cobentzel. In the first conference the Count disclaimed all that his colleagues had been saying for four months, urging the most extravagant pretensions. With a man of this sort there was but one method of proceeding, which was to go as far beyond the true medium in the opposite direction as he did. This time the Austrian Cabinet was sincere in its desire for peace; but it was now the turn of the Directory.

The affair of the 18th of Fructidor had led them to trust too much to their own strength, and they refused to yield either Venice or the line of the Adige to the Emperor—a refusal that was equivalent to a declaration of war.

Napoleon in this dilemma did not know how to act. With respect to military operations he had fixed principles as to the degree of obedience the government had a right to exact. If he did not approve of the orders that were issued to him, he would have considered it criminal to undertake the execution of an injudicious plan, and in that case would have thought himself obliged to offer his resignation, as he had done on one occasion. But he was not so clear as to the degree of obedience due from him as a plenipotentiary. Besides, his functions here were complicated. Was he to renounce his mission in the midst of a negociation, or to declare war as a plenipotentiary, and at the same time to give up his command as a general, thus doubly involving his country in difficulties? The Minister for Foreign Affairs extricated him from this uncertainty. In one of his dispatches he informed him that the Directory had thought he could enforce their *ultimatum;* but if not, that war or peace rested in his hands. He determined to abide by the terms settled at Montebello on the 6th of May. His principal reasons for being unwilling to prolong the war were, that it was too

late in the season to advance farther into Germany; that the command of the Army of the Rhine was entrusted to Augereau, whose violent political opinions would prevent a proper harmony and understanding between the armies; that the reinforcement of 12,000 foot and 4000 horse which he had required had been refused; and that the Directory had resolved not to ratify the treaty with the King of Sardinia, thus creating a new enemy in their rear. The Directory indeed soon after sent word that they would furnish an army of 6000 men and ratify the treaty with Sardinia; but the treaty of Campo-Formio had been signed three days before the writing of these dispatches, which did not reach Passeriano till twelve days after the signature of the peace.

It was Napoleon's interest to conclude peace. The republican party at home already manifested a certain jealousy of him, and began to hint that so much glory was incompatible with liberty. If he had recommenced hostilities and the French army had occupied Vienna, the Directory would have been desirous to revolutionize Germany, which would have involved France in a new war with the rest of Europe. Had Napoleon broken off the negociations, the blame would have rested with him; but by giving peace at this time, he added to the glory of conquest that of terminating the war, and of being the founder of two republics. Thus

crowned with laurels and with the olive-branch in his hand, he thought he should return safely into private life, like the great men of antiquity; the first act of his political career would be honourably concluded, circumstances and the interests of his country would regulate the remainder of it. France was anxious for peace. The quarrel of the Allied Kings with the Republic was a conflict of principles and a struggle on her part for existence, which had ended favourably for her. The General-in-Chief had conceived the project of changing this state of the question, which left France opposed singly to them all, and of throwing an apple of discord among the Allies, by creating a diversion of other interests and passions. Vain and mistaken policy, to suppose that any other object could distract their attention, while the great and paramount one of their sovereign power and existence by divine imprescriptible right remained unprovided for; which blinded him from first to last, and ruined him in the end by preventing him from seeing the abyss over which with every shifting breath of fortune he hung suspended! To make Austria odious by giving her up Venice was perhaps more feasible, and might serve as a warning to the lesser powers; but was not France also, whatever might be her provocations, a party to the wrong? Venice, after twelve hundred years of freedom, by passing under a foreign yoke for a while, might be better pre-

pared to merge her individual and lofty pretensions in the general incorporation of Italy, an object on which Buonaparte was always intent, and which he was about to have proclaimed fifteen years afterwards, as soon as he had a second son born to him. Austria, it is true, received but a barren equivalent for Lombardy and Belgium in Styria, Carinthia, and Hungary; but these provinces were near and conveniently placed, and her situation was critical. Still the Austrian negociator, Count Cobentzel, held out strenuously to the last. He insisted on "the Adda as a boundary, or nothing. If the Emperor, my master," he said, "were to give you the keys of Mentz, the strongest fortress in the world, without changing them for the keys of Mantua, it would be a degrading act." Neither party would yield. At length, on the 16th of October, the conferences were held at Udine, where Buonaparte recapitulated the different arguments, and Count Cobentzel replied at great length, and concluded with saying that he should depart that night, at the same time throwing the blame on the French negociator, who would be responsible for all the blood that should be shed in the ensuing contest. Upon this the latter, with great seeming coolness, although he was much irritated at this attack, arose, and took from the mantel-piece a little porcelain vase, which Count Cobentzel prized as a present from the Empress Catherine. "Well," said Napoleon,

"the truce is at an end, and war is declared; but remember, that before the end of autumn I will shatter your monarchy as I shatter this porcelain." Saying so, he dashed it furiously down, and the carpet was instantly covered with the fragments. He then saluted the Congress and retired. The Austrian plenipotentiaries were struck dumb. A few moments afterwards, they found that as Napoleon got into his carriage, he had dispatched an officer to the Archduke Charles to inform him that the negociations were broken off, and that hostilities would recommence in twenty-four hours. Count Cobentzel, seriously alarmed, sent the Marquis de Gallo to Passeriano with a written declaration that he consented to the *ultimatum* of France. The treaty was signed the following day, and was dated from Campo-Formio, a small village between Passeriano and Udine, which had been neutralized for that purpose by the Secretaries of Legation, though it was not thought necessary to remove thither, as there was no suitable house in the place for the accommodation of the plenipotentiaries.

By this treaty, in addition to the particulars already stated, France was to have the Valteline, and Austria ceded Brisgaw, which placed a greater distance between the Hereditary States and the French frontier. Mentz was to be given up at a general Congress that was to meet at Rastadt. The Princes of the Empire dispossessed on the left

bank of the Rhine were to be indemnified out of the Ecclesiastical States. Corfu, Zante, Cephalonia, Santa Maura, and Cerigo were ceded to France, in exchange for two millions of souls added to the Austrian dominions on the left bank of the Adige. By a special article of the treaty, the property which the Archduke Charles possessed in Belgium as the heir of the Archduchess Christina, was secured to him. Napoleon afterwards, when Emperor, purchased the mansion of Lacken, near Brussels, for a million of francs. This stipulation was intended as a mark of respect on the part of the French plenipotentiary to the General he had been fighting with. Buonaparte prided himself on his talent for making peace as much as on his talent for making war, and was always anxious (with reason) to repel the imputation of being a mere military man. He was more willing to admit an equality with himself in the field than in the cabinet, and thought he had overcome greater difficulties and accomplished more improbable things in the one than in the other. There is something chivalrous in his mode of negociation; and the same appearance of firmness, promptitude, clearness, and determination to leave nothing unattempted by art or force in both.

During the conferences at Passeriano, General Desaix came from the Army of the Rhine to visit the fields of battle which the Army of Italy had

rendered so famous. Napoleon received him at head-quarters, and thought to surprise him by imparting to him the light which the discovery of D'Entraigues' portfolio threw on Pichegru's conduct. "We have long known," said Desaix smiling, "that Pichegru was a traitor. Moreau found proofs of the fact in Kinglin's papers, with all the particulars of the bribes he had received, and the cocerted motives of his military manœuvres. Moreau, Regnier, and myself are the only persons in the secret. I wished Moreau to inform Government of it immediately, but he would not. Pichegru," added he, "is perhaps the only General who ever got himself purposely beaten." He alluded to the manœuvre by which Pichegru had intentionally moved his principal force up the Rhine, in order to prevent the success of the operations before Mentz. Desaix visited the camps, and was received with the greatest respect in all of them. This was the commencement of the friendship between him and Napoleon. He loved glory for glory's sake, and his country above every thing. He was of an unsophisticated pleasing character, and possessed extensive information. He had thoroughly studied the theatre of the war along the Rhine. The victor of Marengo shed tears for his death.

Hoche about this time died suddenly at Mentz. This young General distinguished himself at the

lines of Weissemburg in 1794, and for a short time pacified La Vendée. He marched his troops on Paris at the crisis of the 18th of Fructidor. He is famous for having landed the expedition in Ireland. Enthusiastic, brave, and restless, he knew not how to wait for opportunities, but exposed himself to failure by premature enterprises. He on all occasions expressed a high regard for Napoleon. By his death and the disgrace of Moreau, the command of the armies both of the Sambre and Meuse and of the Rhine became vacant. The Directory united them into one, and gave the command to Augereau.

Berthier took the treaty of Campo-Formio to Paris; and Buonaparte, as a mark of his respect for the sciences and of his personal esteem, sent Monge along with him. The General-in-Chief was fond of the conversation of this great geometrician, who loved the French people as his own family, and liberty and equality as the results of a mathematical demonstration. At the time of the invasion of France by the Prussians in 1792, he offered to give his two daughters in marriage to the first volunteers who should lose a limb in the defence of their native soil; and this offer, however extravagant it may sound, was in him sincere and heart-felt. He accompanied Napoleon into Egypt; and always remained faithful to him. Immediately after the signature of the treaty, Buo-

naparte returned to Milan, when he took leave of the Italians in an energetic and flattering address, and issued the following order of the day to the army: "Soldiers, I set out to-morrow for Germany. Separated from the army, I shall sigh for the moment of my rejoining it, and braving fresh dangers. Whatever post Government may assign to the soldiers of the Army of Italy, they will always be the worthy supporters of liberty and of the glory of the French name. Soldiers, when you talk of the princes you have conquered, of the nations you have set free, and the battles you have fought in two campaigns, say—*In the next two we shall do still more!*"

Napoleon proceeded to Turin, where he alighted at Guingené's, the French minister's, on the 17th of November. The King of Sardinia desired to see him and to express his obligations in a public manner; but circumstances were already such that he did not think it expedient to indulge in court-entertainments. He continued his journey to Rastadt across Mount Cenis. At Geneva he was received as he might have expected to be, had it been a French town. On his entering the Pays de Vaud, three parties of handsome young girls came to compliment him at the head of the inhabitants: one party was clothed in white, another in red, and a third in blue. These maidens presented him with a crown, on which was inscribed

the famous sentence which proclaimed the liberty of the Valteline and so dear to the hearts of the Vaudois, that *one nation cannot be subject to another*. He passed through several Swiss towns, Berne among others, and crossed the Rhine at Bâle, proceeding towards Rastadt. He here found Treilhard and Bonnier, appointed by the Directory, and who had arrived before him. Old Count Metternich represented the Emperor as head of the Germanic Confederation; Count Cobentzel as head of the House of Austria. The greatest opposition arose as to the first article, the delivering up of Mentz. All the German princes complained loudly against it. They said that Mentz did not belong to Austria, and they did not scruple to accuse the Emperor of having betrayed Germany for the sake of his interests in Italy. Count Lerbach, as deputy for the Circle of Austria, had to answer all these protestations, of which task he acquitted himself with all the energy, arrogance, and superciliousness, which marked his character. Sweden also appeared at Rastadt as a mediatrix, and as one of the powers which had guaranteed the treaty of Westphalia. This claim was somewhat obsolete. That Court had moreover sent Baron Fersen as its representative to the Congress, whose appointment, from the favour he had enjoyed at the Court of Versailles,*

* He was a favourite of the Queen's, and in disguise drove the carriage in which the King set out to Varennes. See vol. i., p. 203.

his intrigues in the time of the Constituent Assembly, and the hatred he had on all occasions expressed against France, might be regarded as an insult to the Republic. On his first interview Napoleon told him that he could not acknowledge any mediator; and as his known opinions particularly disqualified him from coming forward in that capacity between the Republic and the Emperor of Germany, he could receive him no more. Baron Fersen, disconcerted by this reception which was much talked of, left Rastadt the following day.

Immediately after the surrender of Mentz to the French troops, Buonaparte finding affairs grow more complicated every day, and already dissatisfied with the foreign policy of the Directory, determined to meddle no farther in a negociation that seemed to promise no probable end. In the heated and unsettled state of parties in France, the same motives which had induced him to shun the civilities of the Court of Sardinia, led him to withdraw himself from the flattering marks of attention which the German princes lavished upon him. During his short stay at the Congress, he procured the French plenipotentiaries, who had been previously very much neglected, the respect and consideration to which they were entitled as the representatives of a great nation; and he also persuaded the Government to increase the allowance of the negociators, so as to enable

them to appear on a footing of equality with the ambassadors of foreign courts. It ought not to be passed over in this place, that Napoleon among other conditions of the treaty of Campo-Formio, had procured the liberation of La Fayette and his unfortunate companions, who had been confined for four year in the dungeons of Olmutz; and it should be known, in justice to all parties, that this article cost him more trouble than all the rest. Napoleon left Rastadt, travelled through France *incognito*, reached Paris without stopping on the road, and alighted at his small house in the Chaussée d'Antin, Rue Chantereine. The different public bodies vied with each other in expressing the gratitude of the nation towards him. A committee of the Council of Ancients drew up an act for settling the estate of Chambord and a mansion in the capital upon him; but this proposal was in some way defeated by the Directory. The name of the Rue de la Victoire was given to the Rue Chantereine. It is needless to add that it no longer bears that name; but victory and defeat and a thousand other recollections will remain forever engraved upon it in all the bright and solemn obscurity of a dream.

CHAPTER XIV.

NEGOCIATIONS IN 1797.

GREAT and important changes had taken place in the course of the five months that elapsed between the ratification of the preliminaries of Leoben and the signing of the treaty of Campo-Formio, on which they had a considerable influence. It is necessary to turn back to them here. The events of the 18th of Fructidor, which also belong to this interval, will be treated of in a subsequent chapter.

Venice was founded in the fifth century by the inhabitants of the neighbouring shores who sought refuge there from the incursions of the barbarians. In the earliest times Padua gave laws to the Venetians. In 697 they first named a Doge of their own. King Pepin constructed a flotilla at Ravenna, and compelled the Venetians to retire from Grado and Heraclea to Realto and the surrounding isles, which is the present situation of Venice. In 830 the body of St. Mark the Evangelist having been, according to tradition, transported thither from Egypt, he became the patron-saint of the Republic. In 960 the Venetians were masters of Istria and the

Adriatic; and in 1250, in conjunction with the French, took Constantinople. They were in possession of the Morea and Candia till the middle of the seventeenth century; and amidst all the revolutions and change of masters to which Italy has been subject, Venice still remained independent and free, having never submitted to a foreign yoke. It is the best-situated commercial port in all Italy. Before the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, Venice carried on the trade with India by Alexandria and the Red Sea; and afterwards maintained a long struggle for the priority with the Portuguese. After the abolition of the democracy in 1200, the sovereignty resided in the aristocracy of several hundred families whose names were inscribed in the Golden Book, and who were entitled to vote in the Grand Council. The population of the States of the Republic was composed chiefly of three millions of inhabitants dispersed in the Terra Firma, Istria, Dalmatia, and the Ionian Isles. The Venetian territory is bounded to the north by the upper ridge of the Julian Alps, over which there are only three outlets into Germany. At the time of the breaking out of the French Revolution, Venice was but the shadow of its former self. Three generations had passed away without engaging in war; during which time they had submitted to the insults of the Austrians, French, and Spaniards without

offering the least resistance. Their navy consisted of twelve sixty-four gun ships, as many frigates, with smaller vessels, sufficient to keep the Barbarians in awe; and their army, 14,000 strong, was made up of regiments raised in the Terra Firma or of Sclavonian recruits. None but the families inscribed in the Golden Book had any right to share in the government. This rendered the nobles of the Terra Firma, among whom were many rich, old, and powerful families, whose ancestors had long fought against Venice, discontented, and sowed the seeds of dissension and a desire of change amongst them.

In 1792 the Combined Powers invited Venice to take part in the war; but the Republic thought itself too distant to feel any but a very languid interest in the affairs of France, and even when the Count de Lille (Louis XVIII.) took refuge in Verona, the Senate did not grant him permission to remain there, till it had obtained the acquiescence of the Committee of Public Safety. When in 1794 the French troops marched towards Oneglia, it was thought that Italy was menaced with invasion, and several powers held a congress at Milan. Venice refused to appear there, not because she approved of French principles, but as fearing to place herself at the mercy of Austria, and unwilling to depart from that tame and enervated policy which she had so long pursued. But

when Napoleon arrived at Milan and Beaulieu fled in consternation beyond the Mincio, occupying Peschiera, great anxiety and alarm prevailed in the Senate. The wide space which had hitherto separated Venice from the struggle that was going on between the old and new forms of government had now been traversed; the blow had fallen like a thunder-bolt at her feet; and stormy discussions arose in the councils, in which three different opinions were contended for. The young and hot-headed members of the oligarchy wished for an armed neutrality: they advised that strong garrisons should be thrown into Peschiera, Brescia, Porto Legnago, and Verona; that the army should be increased to 60,000 men, the coasts put in a state of defence, and protected with gun-boats; and that in this formidable attitude the Republic should declare war against the first power that violated its neutrality. The partisans of the old policy still maintained on the other hand that it would be best to take no decisive measures, but to temporise, give way, and watch the course of events. The encroachments of Austria and the principles of France were both to be dreaded, but these evils were but temporary; the French were of a placable disposition, easily won by attention and caresses; the Venetian capital was fortunately placed out of the reach of insult; and patience, moderation, and time

would do the rest. The third party, at the head of whom was Battaglia, proposed in the extremity to which they were reduced to augment the Golden Book, so as to obtain the good-will and adherence of the inhabitants of the Terra Firma; to offer the French General an offensive and defensive alliance, and thus secure the foundations of the constitution and their independence from the power of Austria. This advice gained but few suffrages, and aristocratical prejudices prevailed over the interests of the Republic.

The proveditore Mocenigo at Brescia received Napoleon in a style of great magnificence; splendid fêtes were given, and an intimacy was studiously cemented between the officers of the army and the principal families of the town. At Verona, the proveditore Foscarelli pretended to do the same thing; but he was of too proud and violent a character to disguise his ill-will to the French. On Napoleon's arrival at Peschiera, he endeavoured to dissuade him from marching on Verona, and even refused to deliver up the keys of the city. "It is too late," said the General-in-Chief; "neutrality consists in having the same weight and measure for all parties. If you are not my enemies, you must grant me what you have granted, or at least tolerated in my enemies." With the advance of the French, a considerable agitation spread through the Terra Firma. The ancient animosity entertained against the oli-

garchy was strengthened by an attachment to the new opinions. "What right has Venice," said the inhabitants, "to govern our cities? Are we less brave, enlightened, opulent, or noble than the Venetians?" Every thing announced the approach of a violent catastrophe. Buonaparte did all in his power to moderate this popular impulse. On his return from Tolentino, and before marching on Vienna, he thought it high time to settle the affairs of this country, and sent for Pesaro, who at that time managed the concerns of the Republic, to urge upon him the acceptance of Battaglia's plan of accommodation. Pesaro set out for Venice, undertaking to employ his good offices. In the mean time, Bergamo and Brescia had openly revolted, and repulsed the Venetian troops who were sent against them. Pesaro, on returning to headquarters, found them at Goritz. The Archduke had been defeated at the Tagliamento, and the French flag waved on the summit of the Julian Alps. "Have I kept my word?" said Napoleon; "or does the Republic accept my alliance?" "Venice," replied Pesaro, "rejoices in your triumphs; she knows that she cannot exist but by means of France; but faithful to her ancient and wise policy, she wishes to remain neutral." Napoleon made a last effort, but failed. On Pesaro's taking leave, he said to him: "I am marching on Vienna. Things that I might have forgiven when I was in Italy,

would be unpardonable crimes when I am in Germany. Should my soldiers be assassinated, my convoys harassed, and my communications intercepted in the Venetian territories, your Republic will have ceased to exist."

After the movement of Joubert to join the army in Carinthia, Laudon, who was left to guard the Tyrol, increased his force by 10,000 Tyrolese militia, beat General Serviez's little corps of observation, and compelled him to retreat on Montebaldo, occupying Trent. Being master of the Tyrol, he inundated Italy with proclamations, filled with the most absurd reports of the defeat of the French armies, the brilliant victories of the Archduke Charles, and his own advance with 60,000 men to cut off the retreat of the wreck of the Army of Italy. On this intelligence the Venetian oligarchy no longer kept any terms. It was in vain that the French Minister alleged the falsehood of these statements, and endeavoured to convince the Senate that it was digging a pit for itself. Pesaro, who ruled its decisions, was too desirous of the defeat of the French not to credit these communications; and Austria was busy at work in fomenting insurrections in the rear of the invading army. Order was maintained by the prudence of Mocenigo in Friuli, which was nearer the scene of operations; but in the Veronese more than 30,000 peasants had been secretly furnished with arms, and only waited the

signal for slaughter. The proveditore Emili concerted measures with Laudon, apprising him of the weakness of the garrison of Verona; and on the 17th of April (Tuesday in Easter week) after vespers the tocsin sounded. The insurrection broke out at the same time in the city and country; the French were massacred on all sides, and four hundred sick were murdered in the hospitals. General Balland shut himself up in the castles with the garrison. The fire of the forts, which he directed against the city, induced the Veronese authorities to hold a par but the rage of the multitude interrupted it; and emboldened by the arrival of 2000 Sclavonians from Vicenza, and the approach of the Austrian General Nieperg, they revenged the mischief done by the bombardment of the city, by slaughtering the garrison of Chiusa, which had been obliged to surrender to the levy in mass of the mountaineers.

General Kilmaine, who was entrusted with the chief command of Lombardy, sent to the relief of General Balland as soon as he heard of the insurrection at Verona. On the 21st of April his first columns appeared before its gates; and Generals Chabran, Lahoz, and Chevalier came up on the day following. On the 23d the signature of the preliminaries of peace became known to the insurgents, with the news that Victor's division was on its march from Treviso. They were now seized

with consternation, and their fear being equal to their former fury, accepted on their knees the conditions which General Balland imposed on them. The French were entitled to make severe reprisals; but only three of the inhabitants were delivered up to the tribunals; a general disarming was effected, and the peasants were sent home to their villages.

The Venetians, equally infatuated, also suffered the crew of a French privateer, which being pursued by an Austrian frigate had taken shelter under the batteries of the Lido (where it was entitled to protection) to be murdered before their eyes; and when the French Minister demanded redress for this outrage, the Senate both laughed at his threats and remonstrances, and rewarded such of its satellites as had participated in the murder of Captain Laugier and his men. It is thus that the old governments, whenever they had an opportunity, have treated the French people as a set of outlaws, with whom no faith was to be kept nor any mercy shewn to them, at the same time lifting up their hands and eyes at every infringement of the nicest punctilio on their parts, as an unheard-of and wanton aggression on all lawful authority.* As soon as Napo-

* On this principle the captain of an English seventy-four attacked the French frigate Modeste in the port of Genoa, then at peace with France, desiring him to hoist the white flag, and saying he did not know what the tri-coloured flag meant. The

leon heard of these events, he sent Junot to Venice, charging him to present a letter to the Senate, in which he reproached them with their treachery and duplicity. That officer fulfilled his mission with the plain bluntness of a soldier. Terror prevailed in the Government. The Senate humbled itself and endeavoured to find excuses, and sent a deputation to the General-in-Chief at Gratz to offer every reparation he might require, and to bribe all those who had any credit with him. This method succeeded better at Paris than in the army; and the Directory shewed themselves favourable to the Senate in the orders they sent. But Napoleon, by means of some intercepted dispatches, had in his hands the proofs of the intrigue that had been carried on, and he annulled, of his own authority, all that had been done. On the 23d of May he issued from his camp at Palma-Nuova the following declaration of war against the Republic of Venice.

"Whilst the French army is in the defiles of Styria, having left Italy and its principal establishments far behind, where only a few battalions remained, this is the line of conduct pursued by the

crew of the Modeste, to escape the fire of the seventy-four, threw themselves into the water, and were pursued and killed or wounded by the English boats. This happened in October 1793, and would at that time be considered as a fine trait of our contempt for the enemy, and consequent superiority over them.

Government of Venice. It takes the opportunity of Passion-week to arm 40,000 peasants, adds ten regiments of Sclavonians to that force, forms them into several corps, and posts them at different points to intercept the communications of the army. Extraordinary commissions, musquets, ammunition of all kinds, and artillery are sent from the city of Venice to complete the organization of the different corps. All who received the French in a friendly manner in the Terra Firma are arrested; while those who are distinguished by an outrageous hatred of the French name obtain the favours and entire confidence of the Government; and especially the fourteen conspirators of Verona, whom the proveditore Priuli had caused to be arrested three months ago as convicted of having plotted the slaughter of the French. In the squares, coffee-houses, and other public places at Venice, the French are insulted, called Jacobins, regicides, and atheists; and at length are expelled the city with a prohibition ever to return. The people of Padua, Vicenza, and Verona are ordered to take up arms, to second the different bodies of troops, and in short, to begin these new Sicilian Vespers. It is ours, say the Venetian officers, to verify the proverb, that *Italy is the tomb of the French.* The priests from their pulpits preach a crusade; and in the States of Venice, priests never utter any thing but what is dictated by the Government.

Pamphlets, perfidious proclamations, and anonymous letters are printed in various towns, and begin to work upon the minds of the people; and in a state in which liberty of the press is not allowed—in a government not less dreaded than secretly abhorred—authors and printers only write and publish what is approved by the Senate. At first every thing seems to favour the treacherous designs of the Government; French blood flows in all directions. On every road the convoys, couriers, and all belonging to the army are intercepted. At Padua a chief of battalion and two other Frenchmen are murdered; at Castiglione di Mori several soldiers are disarmed and murdered; on the high-roads from Mantua to Legnago and from Cassano to Verona, upwards of 200 French are murdered. Two battalions on their way to join the army, are met at Chiari by a Venetian division, which opposes their progress. An obstinate action commences; and our brave soldiers force a passage over the bodies of their enemies. At Valeggio there is another engagement; and at Dezenzano they are again obliged to fight. The French are in all these cases few in number, but they are accustomed to disregard the numbers of their enemies. On the second holiday of Easter, at the ringing of the bell, all the French in Verona are murdered; the assassins spare neither the sick in the hospitals nor those who are convalescent and walking in the

streets: the last are thrown into the Adige, after receiving a thousand stabs with stilettoes. Upwards of 400 soldiers are thus massacred. During eight days the Venetian army besieges the three castles of Verona; the cannon it plants against them are taken by the French at the point of the bayonet; the city is set on fire; and the corps of observation, which comes up during these transactions, completely routs these cowards, taking 3000 prisoners with several Generals. The house of the French Consul at Zante is burnt down. In Dalmatia, a Venetian man-of-war takes an Austrian convoy under its protection, and fires several shots at the sloop La Brune. The Republican ship Le Liberateur d'Italie, carrying only three or four small guns, is sunk in the port of Venice by order of the Government. The young and lamented Lieutenant Laugier, her commander, finding himself attacked both by the fire of the fort and that of the Admiral's galley, being within pistol-shot of both, orders his crew under hatches. He alone mounts on deck amidst a shower of grape-shot, and endeavours to disarm the fury of these assassins by addressing them; but he falls dead on the spot. His crew betake themselves to swimming, and are pursued by six boats manned by troops in the pay of the Republic of Venice, who kill several of the French with axes as they are endeavouring to save their lives by swimming towards the sea. A boatswain,

wounded in several places, weakened and bleeding profusely, is fortunate enough to make the shore, and clings to a piece of timber projecting from the harbour castle; but the commandant himself chops off his hand with an axe.

"Considering the above-mentioned grievances, and authorised by title XII, article 328, of the Constitution of the Republic, and seeing the urgency of the occasion, the General-in-Chief requires the Minister of France to the Republic of Venice to depart from the said city; orders the different agents of the Venetian Republic in Lombardy and the Venetian Terra Firma to depart within twenty-four hours; orders the different Generals of division to treat the troops of the Republic of Venice as enemies; and to pull down the Lion of St. Mark in every town of the Terra Firma. To-morrow in the order of the day, each of them will receive particular instructions respecting further military proceedings."

On reading this manifesto the weapons fell from the hands of the oligarchy, who no longer thought of defending themselves. The Grand Council of the state dissolved itself, and a municipal body was entrusted with the supreme power. Thus this haughty aristocracy fell without a struggle. In its last agonies it in vain supplicated the Court of Austria to be included in the general peace; but that court turned a deaf ear to its entreaties, having

opposite views of its own. On the 11th of May, Baraguay d'Hilliers entered Venice at the call of the inhabitants, who were in dread of the Sclavonian troops. The tri-coloured flag was hoisted in St. Mark's Place, and the popular Constitution was declared by the partisans of freedom, who chose Dandolo for their head. The Lion of St. Mark and the Corinthian horses on the gates of the Doge's palace were removed to Paris. The Venetian fleet was manned and sent to Toulon. General Gentili, the same who had driven the English out of Corsica, proceeded to Corfu and took possession of this place, the key to the Adriatic, and of the other Ionian islands. Pesaro was overwhelmed by the general reprobation and escaped to Vienna. Battaglia deeply regretted the fall of his country, and did not long survive it. The Doge Manini suddenly fell down dead, while taking the oath to Austria, administered by Morosini, who afterwards became the Emperor's commissioner. On the receipt of the order of the day, declaring war against Venice, the whole Terra Firma revolted, and adopted the principles of the French Revolution, abolishing convents and suppressing feudal tenures. Notwithstanding the care of Napoleon to prevent abuses and peculation, more disorders were committed on this occasion than during any other period of the war. The bank at Verona was plundered of property to the amount of seven or eight

millions of francs. Bouquet, a commissary, and Andrieux, a colonel of hussars, were accused of being concerned in this robbery, and compelled to refund all that was found upon them. Bernadotte presented the colours taken from the Venetians and other trophies to the Directory a few days before the 18th of Fructidor—a sort of ceremony very useful to the Government at that period; for the disaffected were overawed and silenced by these frequent displays of the spirit and success of the armies.

At the moment of the entrance of the French troops into Venice, one of the persons who escaped from that city was the Count d'Entraigues. He was arrested on the Brenta by Bernadotte's division, and sent to the head-quarters at Milan. Count d'Entraigues was a native of the Vivarais, was a deputy from the noblesse to the Constituent Assembly, and at first an ardent assertor of liberty; but soon after changed sides, emigrated, and became one of the principal agents of the foreign party. He had been two years at Venice in this capacity, and was suspected of having had an important share in the massacres at Verona. In consequence of papers found upon him, he was ordered to be tried by a military commission; but in the interim he applied to Napoleon, to whom he made unreserved communications, discovered all the intrigues of the time, and compromised his

party more than it was necessary to do. He received permission to reside in the city on his parole and without a guard. Some time after he made his escape into Switzerland, where he published and circulated with great industry a pamphlet against his benefactor, describing the horrible dungeon in which he had been immured, the tortures he had suffered, the boldness he had displayed, and the dangers he had braved in making his escape. This excited a great deal of indignation at Milan, where he had been seen in the public walks and theatres enjoying the utmost liberty—an instance among so many others of the gratitude of those slaves of power who think that to lie is a court privilege, and that to disregard every common obligation of truth or justice is the distinguishing characteristic of a gentleman and a man of honour, and the most acceptable compliment they can pay to their superiors!

Genoa came in for its share in the negociations carried on in the summer of 1797 at Montebello. This little Republic had been engaged in continual wars and struggles, both with Corsica and other states, during the whole of the last century, and kept up its spirit and energy much better than the Republic of Venice had done during that time. The Genoese aristocracy had accordingly faced the storm that for some time threatened them, and suffered neither the Allied Powers nor France nor

the popular party among themselves to intimidate them. The Republic had maintained the Constitution which Andrew Doria had given it in the sixteenth century in its original integrity. But the proclamation of the independence of the Cispadan and Transpadan Republics, the abdication of the aristocracy of Venice, and the enthusiasm which the victories of the French excited, gave such a preponderance to the popular party, that a change in the Government became unavoidable. Yet France wished the Genoese to bring this about themselves without appearing in it. Faypoult, the French minister, was a man of moderation and prudence, which favoured this object. The Morandi club, on the other hand, impatient of the slow progress of the revolution, wished to precipitate matters, and drew up a petition to the Doge to proclaim the triumph of liberty, who did not seem averse to the measure, as he appointed a junta of nine persons, four of them being of the plebeian class, to propose alterations in the Constitution to him.

The three state-inquisitors or supreme censors, who were the leaders of the oligarchy and the enemies of France, beheld this turn of affairs with dissatisfaction. Being convinced that the aristocracy could not subsist many months longer if they permitted events to take their obvious course, they called in the aid of fanaticism, and excited

the enthusiasm of the colliers and porters by the usual artifices of preaching, of miracles, the elevation of the host, and prayers of forty hours. The Morandists, on their part, were not idle, but incensed the people against the priests and nobles by every expedient, and made a great number of proselytes. Thinking things ripe for the attempt, on the 22d of May, at ten o'clock in the morning, they seized on the gates of the arsenal, St. Thomas, and the port. The terrified Inquisitors gave the signal to the colliers and porters, who in a few hours assembled at the armoury, with shouts of *Viva Maria*, to the amount of 10,000. The patriots in despair mounted the French cockade, which enraged the populace, and nearly proved fatal to the French families settled in Genoa and to the minister Faypoult. Several persons were massacred. The naval commissioner, Menard, a retired and inoffensive man, was dragged by the hair of his head as far as the light-house fort; the Consul La Chaise had his house plundered and escaped with difficulty. In the midst of the tumult Admiral Bruyes, returning from Corsica with two men-of-war and two frigates, came in sight of the port, but Faypoult had the weakness to send him orders not to land but to make for Toulon.

The oligarchy had been persuaded that Napoleon would connive at these disorders, but no sooner was he informed of the events which had

taken place and of the shedding of French blood, than he dispatched Lavalette to Genoa, and required of the Doge that all the French should be set at liberty, their property protected, the colliers disarmed, and that the French minister should repair to Tortona with such of the French families as chose to follow him. Though the French were immediately released on the arrival of Lavalette, the answer of the Senate was not satisfactory; but as soon as they found that Faypoult demanded his passport, they met again, and resolved that a deputation of Cambiaso the Doge, Serra, and Carbonari should proceed directly to Montebello; that the colliers should be disarmed, and the three Inquisitors put in a state of arrest. On the 6th of June the deputies from the Senate signed a convention at Montebello which put an end to the power of the oligarchy, and established a democratical constitution at Genoa.

The people, intoxicated with the news, committed several excesses, burnt the Golden Book, and broke the statue of Doria in pieces. Buonaparte was much displeased at this outrage on the memory of a great man, the real benefactor of his country, which shewed the blindness of the multitude who look neither before nor behind them; and required the Provisional Government to repair the statue. The exclusionists, however, got the upper hand, and every thing was subjected to

their influence; by which means the priests were rendered discontented and the nobles highly exasperated, being shut out from all offices in the state. The Constitution was to be submitted to the approbation of the people on the 11th of September; it was printed and posted in all the communes. Several of the country cantons declared against it; and insurrections broke out in the valleys of Polcevera and the Bisagno, which General Duphot was compelled to put down by an armed force. Tranquillity was thus restored, and the peasants were disarmed. This news was a disappointment to Napoleon. He was then much occupied by the negociation with Austria, but he had strongly recommended that the priests should be conciliated and the nobles admitted to public offices; since to exclude them would be the same glaring piece of injustice towards them that had been made the subject of such loud complaints against them. The Constitution was afterwards modified according to this suggestion, and carried into effect with general approbation. Not a single French soldier passed beyond Tortona during this change, which was owing to the influence of the Third Estate. The advice given by Napoleon to the Genoese Republic was also intended for the French Government, who were then debating on the motion of Siéyes to expel all the nobles from France and give them the value of their estates in

manufactured goods. They took the hint, and this violent measure was no more talked of.

Immediately after the refusal of the Court of Vienna to ratify the convention signed at Montebello by the Marquis de Gallo, Napoleon united the Cispadan and Transpadan Republics into one, under the title of the Cisalpine Republic. Some persons objected to this title, and would have had it called the Transalpine Republic, making Paris the centre of every thing; but the Italians had fixed their eyes on Rome, and this appellation flattered their hopes and was dictated by the soundest policy. The people on the two banks of the Po, the inhabitants of Reggio, Modena, Bologna, and Ferrara, from old antipathies and local prejudices, had a great aversion to uniting into one government; and nothing could well have overcome this repugnance but the secret hope held out to them that it was but the prelude to the union of all the nations of the Peninsula under a single head. By the treaty of Campo-Formio the Cisalpine Republic obtained the addition of that part of the states of Venice which was situated on the right bank of the Adige, which, together with the acquisition of the Valteline, gave it a population of 3,600,000 souls. These provinces, without doubt the richest and finest in Europe, formed ten departments, extending from the mountains of

Switzerland to the Tuscan and Roman Apennines, and from the Ticino to the Adriatic.

Napoleon would willingly have given the Cisalpine State a constitution different from that of France; and with this view desired to have some celebrated publicist, such as Siéyes, sent to him at Milan: but the Directory would not hear of any alteration in this respect. A general federation of the National Guards and the authorities of the new Republic took place at the Lazaretto of Milan. On the 14th of July 30,000 National Guards, with the deputies from the departments, took an oath of fraternity, and swore to use their utmost efforts to revive the liberty of Italy and make her once more a nation. The keys of Milan and of the fortresses were delivered by the French to the Cisalpine officers. The army left the States of the Republic, and went into cantonments in the territory of Venice. From this period may be dated the first formation of the Italian army, which afterwards acquired so great a share of glory. The manners of the Italians underwent a striking change. The cassock, the fashionable dress for youth, gave place to regimentals: instead of passing their time at the feet of women, the young Italians now frequented the riding and fencing-schools and places of exercise: the children no longer played at *chapel*, but had regiments armed with tin guns, and mimicked the occurrences

of war in their favourite games. In their comedies and street-farces, there had always been an Italian, who was represented as a very cowardly though witty fellow, and a kind of bullying captain, sometimes a Frenchman, but more frequently a German, a very powerful, brave, and brutal character, who never failed to conclude with caning the Italian, to the great satisfaction and applause of the spectators. But such allusions were now no longer endured by the populace, who insisted on seeing valiant Italians introduced on the stage, putting foreigners to flight and defending themselves with resolution and boldness. A national spirit had arisen; Italy had her patriotic and warlike songs; and the women contemptuously repulsed those suitors who affected effeminate manners in order to please them.

The Valteline, which was incorporated with the Cisalpine Republic, is composed of three valleys, the Valteline properly so called, the Bormio, and the Chiavenna: its population is 160,000 souls; and the inhabitants profess the Roman Catholic religion, and speak Italian. It belongs geographically to Italy; it borders the Adda down to its discharge into the Lake of Como, and is separated from Germany by the Higher Alps, being eighteen leagues in length and six in breadth. Chiavenna, its capital, is two leagues from the lake of Como, and fourteen from Coire in Switzerland.

The Valteline was anciently part of the Milanese. Barnabas Visconti, Archbishop and Duke of Milan, in 1404 gave these three valleys to the church of Coire. In 1512 the Grison Leagues were invested with the sovereignty by Sforza upon certain conditional statutes which the Dukes of Milan were to guarantee. The people of the Valteline thus found themselves subject to the three Leagues, the inhabitants of which were separated from them by religion, language, and situation.

There is no condition more dreadful than that of a nation which is subject to another nation. It was thus that the Lower Valais was subject to the Upper Valais, and the Pays de Vaud to the canton of Berne. The unfortunate people of the Valteline had long complained of the oppressions under which they groaned. The Grisons, poor and ignorant, came to enrich themselves in the Valteline. The lowest peasant of the Leagues considered himself as much superior to the richest inhabitant of the Valteline, as a sovereign is to his subjects. In the course of May 1797, the people of the three valleys revolted, unfurled the tri-coloured flag, published a manifesto setting forth their grievances and the rights of which they had been deprived, and sent the deputies Juidiconni, Planta, and Paribelli to Montebello to claim the execution of their statutes, which had been violated by the Grisons in every

point. Napoleon was reluctant to interfere in questions which might affect Switzerland; but being called upon by both parties, and finding on examination into the archives of Milan that the Milanese government was invested with the right of guaranteeing the statutes, he accepted the office of mediator. Napoleon previously to giving any decision, invited both parties to come to an amicable arrangement, and proposed as a mode of accommodation, that the Valteline should form a fourth League upon a footing of equality with the three former. This suggestion deeply wounded the pride of the Grisons. How could it be imagined, they said, that a peasant who drinks the water of the Adda could be the equal of one who drinks the water of the Rhine? They therefore rejected with disdain so unreasonable a proposal as that of equalizing Catholic peasants who spoke Italian and were rich and well informed, with Protestant peasants who spoke German and were poor and ignorant. The leading characters among them did not share these prejudices, but were misled by avarice. They declined measures of accommodation, and sent no deputies at the time appointed for hearing the different claims, though they had before agreed to do so. Buonaparte accordingly gave judgment by default against the Leagues, and in a decision pronounced the 10th of October 1797, gave the people

of the Valteline liberty to unite themselves with the Cisalpine Republic. The Grisons, frantic with rage and mortification, immediately after this award wrote word to Napoleon that their deputies were setting out to appear before him; but he answered that it was too late. In speaking of this event afterwards, Buonaparte gives himself great credit for the decision he had made. "The principles," he observes, "on which this sentence was founded echoed through all Europe, and aimed a mortal blow at the usurpation of the Swiss cantons, which held more than one people in subjection. It might have been expected that the aristocracy of Venice would have been sufficiently warned by this example, to feel that the moment for making some concessions to the enlightened state of the age, to the influence of France and to justice had arrived. But prejudice and pride never listen to the voice of reason, nature, or religion. An oligarchy yields to nothing but force." It may be asked here, was Napoleon sincere in these principles on which he seems to lay so much stress, and to which he often adhered so little in practice? There is no need to doubt it: every one is sincere in the condemnation of wrong, till it comes to be his own turn to inflict it.

The treaties with Rome, Naples, and Sardinia had been formally ratified in the course of these negociations; but the materials of which they were

composed were of too frail and discordant a nature to promise a lasting union. The Piedmontese in particular loudly called for a revolution, and the Court of Turin already looked to Sardinia as a place of refuge. Rome vacillated and lost itself between contradictory and ill-judged counsels, keeping up the sense of self-importance after its authority was gone—too feeble to assert its claims, too obstinate to forego them. Naples placed at a distance from the storm might have escaped, but for the disorderly and violent passions of the Queen, who ruled every thing but herself. The treaty of peace in October 1796 made no alteration in the conduct of this cabinet, which continued to levy troops and excite alarm during the whole of the year 1797; yet the treaty was an exceedingly favourable one. At the time that Napoleon was in the Marches threatening Rome, Prince Belmonte Pignatelli, the Neapolitan Minister, who was at head-quarters, shewed him in confidence a letter from the Queen, informing him that she was about to order 30,000 men to march to the relief of Rome. "I thank you for this confidential communication," said the General, "and in return I will make you a similar one." He rang for his secretary, ordered him to bring the papers relating to Naples, took out a dispatch which he had written to the Directory in the month of November 1796 before the taking of Mantua, and

read as follows: "The difficulties arising from Alvinzi's approach would not prevent me from sending 6000 Lombards and Poles to punish the Court of Rome; but as it is probable that the King of Naples might send 30,000 men to defend the Holy See, I shall not march on Rome, until Mantua shall have fallen, and the reinforcements you announce shall have arrived; in order that in case the Court of Naples should violate the treaty of Paris, I might have 25,000 men disposable to occupy its capital and compel it to take refuge in Sicily." In the course of the night, Prince Pignatelli dispatched an extraordinary courier, doubtless for the purpose of informing the Queen of the manner in which her insinuation had been received.

CHAPTER XV.

THE EIGHTEENTH OF FRUCTIDOR.

After the battles and sieges, defeats and victories with which we have been lately occupied, it is with some reluctance I return to take up the internal affairs of the Revolution once more. In war one is only answerable for the event; in politics one is concerned not only with what takes place, but with what ought to take place, and which seldom actually does so. In a campaign, the plan, the execution, the details, the success and alternate vicissitudes are every thing, the merits of the case are for the moment laid aside; in government, fortune and justice are constantly at issue, at every step our prejudices are shocked, our reason taken to task, our hopes disappointed or overturned. If in religion, where we have to conform our own actions to a certain standard, conscience is the great tormentor of the human breast; in philosophy, when we come to refine and speculate on what is best for the whole, the moral sense is the great poisoner of reflection and troubler of the peace and happiness of human life.

"At the time* that the Directory were first installed in the Luxembourg," says M. Bailleul, "there was hardly a single article of furniture in it. In a small room, round a little broken table, one of the legs of which had given way from age, on which table they had deposited a quire of letter-paper, and a writing desk *à calamet*, which luckily they had had the precaution to bring with them from the Committee of Public Safety, seated on four rush-bottomed chairs, in front of some logs of wood ill-lighted, the whole borrowed from the porter Dupont; who would believe that it was in this deplorable condition that the members of the new government, after having examined all the difficulties, nay let me add, all the horrors of their situation, resolved to confront all obstacles, and that they would either deliver France from the abyss in which she was plunged or perish in the attempt? They drew up on a sheet of letter-paper the act by which they declared themselves constituted, and immediately forwarded it to the Legislative Bodies."

The Directors divided the different functions amongst themselves according to their respective inclinations and the qualities for which they had been chosen. Rewbell, a man of business and of great activity of mind and body, undertook the departments of finance, justice, and foreign affairs. Barras, indolent, with few resources, but bold,

* October 27, 1795.

intriguing, and well acquainted or connected with all parties, with the nobles by birth, with the revolutionists by habit, had the management of the police. He also did the honours of the Directory, and held a kind of court (not the most respectable) at the Luxembourg. The modest and well-meaning Lepaux took charge of the arts, manufactures, and public instruction. Carnot was appointed to the war-department, in which he introduced great improvements and met with great success; and Letourneur superintended the marine and the colonies. Thus all parties laboured, each in his province and with a perfect good understanding, to benefit and restore the State. They had quite enough on their hands. An alarming scarcity prevailed in Paris; and it was necessary to resort to extraordinary measures to avert the calamities of absolute famine; but at the end of a month this difficulty had been so far overcome that the capital was supplied with provisions by the ordinary channels. The finances were in a deplorable state: there was no money in the public treasury, so that even the couriers were sometimes stopped for want of the trifling sum necessary to pay their expences on the road. The Convention had supplied the armies and the people with bread by means of requisitions and the *maximum*; but when this forced system came to an end, things fell into a worse state than ever. The paper-money was

totally depreciated, so as to be quite worthless: nobody would sell, for nobody could buy, and commerce and industry were almost at a stand for want of credit. The Directory at first attempted to remedy this distress by a forced loan and by a new issue of paper-money, secured on the sale of the national domains, but with very little success. By degrees, however, affairs began to wear a better aspect. The fever and the violence of the Revolution being over, the intense activity it had called forth seemed to turn to the benefit of the State. A great number of the people quitted the clubs and public places to return to the fields or to their work-shops: and it was at this period that the advantages of a change of government which had destroyed exclusive corporations, parcelled out the land, abolished vexatious privileges, and augmented the means of civilization, were strikingly felt. The Directory seconded this favourable tendency by salutary measures. It established public prizes for industry and improved upon the system of education decreed by the Convention. The National Institute, and the primary and central schools were so many nurseries and shrines of arts and science and of republican sentiments. A mild and benevolent tone pervaded their addresses to the nation, which must have done much to inspire confidence and to conciliate good-will. "All will be well," they said in one of these,

"when by your zeal and steadiness that sincere love of freedom, which consecrated the dawn of the Revolution, shall return to animate the breasts of all Frenchmen. The colours of liberty waving over your houses, the republican device inscribed on your doors, undoubtedly present a sight sufficiently interesting. Do not rest contented with this; hasten the day when the sacred name of the Republic shall be voluntarily engraven in all hearts." The Director Reveillere-Lepaux, as entrusted with the moral administration of the government, wished to found the sect of Theophilanthropists, which soon fell into contempt and disuse, as equally opposed to the prejudices of the Catholics and the sceptical opinions of the philosophers. All attempts at compromise or holding the balance between extreme and hostile sects and parties necessarily meet with the same fate. The only way to succeed is either to strengthen power and opinion, or to overturn it. Every middle course is fallacious.

The situation of the armies was by no means brilliant. Insubordination prevailed among the troops; defection among the Generals. That of Pichegru had been nearly fatal to the Republic, though all its circumstances were not as yet known. The Directory found the frontier of the Rhine uncovered, the war rekindled in La Vendée, and Holland menaced with a descent from

England; and lastly, the Army of Italy in want of every thing was reduced to the defensive under Scherer and Kellermann. Hoche succeeded in pacifying La Vendée; and Buonaparte, appointed through the influence of Barras and Carnot to the command of the Army of Italy in the following spring (1796), repaired every disaster, and gave to France an arm of steel.

It was thus that the Directory contended at the commencement of its career with the difficulties it had to overcome as to its internal administration and foreign hostilities. It had yet another enemy to encounter, which was faction, as this was composed of the two extremes of republicanism and royalism. The democrats, uneasy under the new government from which they were excluded and which did not give sufficient scope to the violence of their opinions and passions, still regretted the death of Robespierre and the termination of the reign of terror as of evil augury. Not being able to take their full swing, and give every wild thought its instant effect, they considered themselves as "cooped, confined, and cabined in" by narrow forms and legal sophisms. They held a club at the Pantheon, which the Directory tolerated for some time, and of which Gracchus Babœuf was at the head, who called himself the *Tribune of the People*. He appears to have been a decided political fanatic, an honest but misled man, with con-

siderable influence over his immediate associates, for all enthusiasm is infectious; or rather perhaps there is a certain sort of minds that are always inoculated with it and ready to break out. His conspiracy furnishes a striking example among so many others of the manner in which with persons of this sanguine and self-opinionated cast the strength of the imagination and passions predominates over sober sense and reason, and makes them firmly persuaded they have only to grasp at the most extravagant chimeras in order to convert them into triumphant realities. Their brains are heated by their internal impressions, which they mistake for external power and a certainty of success. All reformers, all speculative reasoners, it is to be observed, belong to the class of those, in whom imagination or the belief and hope of *what is not* bears sway over *what is*, and are more or less tinctured with this weakness. The honestest among them are not the least so; though on the other hand it is true that men of much speculative refinement in general are not inclined to action, and for the most part confine their extravagance and credulity to words and theories, with which they would have others as well satisfied as they are. It is men of coarser minds and more bustling habits, who when suddenly inspired and intoxicated with some new and dazzling light, cannot be restrained by any consideration of prudence from

putting their theories into practice, and rush blindfold upon destruction.

Babœuf was one of the latter class; he prepared the way, as he said in a sort of journal that he set up, for *the reign of the common good.* The Society of the Pantheon became more numerous from day to day, as well as more alarming to the Directory, who strove at first to circumscribe it within certain bounds. But presently the sittings were prolonged into the night; the democrats met together armed, and talked of nothing less than marching against the Directory and the Councils. On this the Directory shut up their place of meeting in February 1796, and apprised the legislative body by a message of the step they had taken. The party, thus deprived of their place of rendezvous, had recourse to other expedients; they gained over the soldiers of the *Legion of Police,* who were disarmed in consequence by the Government. They next formed an *Insurrectionary Committee of Public Safety,* which was in intelligence with the lowest of the Parisian rabble. Besides Babœuf, among the members of this committee were Vadier, Amar, Choudieu, Ricord, Drouet, who belonged to the violent party in the Convention, with the former generals of the decemviral committee, Rossignol, Parrein, Fyon, Lami. A number of displaced officers, patriots driven from the Departments, and

the old leaven of the Jacobin Club, formed the strength of this faction. Its chiefs often met at a place which they called the *Temple of Reason:* here they chaunted their lamentations over the fall of Robespierre, and deplored the servitude of the people. They wanted to establish an understanding with the troops of the camp of Grenelle; and with this view admitted among them a Captain belonging to the camp, of the name of Grisel, of whom they thought themselves sure, and concerted the mode of attack with him. Their plan was arranged for purging the commonwealth: it consisted in a community of goods, the calling a Convention composed of sixty-eight surviving members of the old Mountain, with the addition of a pure republican from each department: the motto of one of their flags was to be, *Those who usurp the sovereignty ought to be put to death by free men;* every thing was ready, the proclamations printed, the day fixed, when they were betrayed by Grisel, as it commonly happens in the greater number of such conspiracies.

On the 21st of Floreal (May 1796), the evening before this scheme was to be put in execution, the conspirators were seized in their place of rendezvous. The plan and all the proofs of the conspiracy were found on Babœuf. Considerable alarm was excited by the discovery of the plot. Babœuf, though a prisoner, had the hardihood to

propose terms of accommodation to the Directory; and that dismissing him as the chief of a rival faction, they should declare that there had been no conspiracy. The Directory published his letter and sent his accomplices before the high court of Vendôme. Their partisans made one more desperate attempt. In the middle of the night of the 23d of Fructidor they marched in a body of 600 or 700 men, armed with sabres and pistols, against the Directory; but they were stopped by the guard. They then turned their steps to the camp at Grenelle, which they hoped to gain over in consequence of an understanding they still kept up there. The camp was asleep when they arrived. To the challenge of the sentinels, they replied *Long live the Republic and the Constitution of* 93! The sentinels at this immediately gave the alarm. The assailants, reckoning on the assistance of a battalion which had been displaced, proceeded to the tent of the commandant Malo, who sounded the charge, and made his dragoons mount half-naked on horseback. The conspirators, not prepared for such a reception, made but a feeble resistance: they were sabred by the dragoons and put to flight, after leaving a great number of dead as well as prisoners on the field of battle. This unsuccessful attempt was the death-blow of the party. Besides their loss at the time, a military commission condemned thirty-one of the

insurgents to death, thirty more to transportation, and twenty-five to imprisonment.

Shortly after the high-court of Vendôme tried Babœuf and his accomplices, among whom were Amar, Vadier, and Darthé, formerly secretary to Joseph Lebon. They did not belie their pretensions, neither the one nor the other; but spoke as men who neither feared to avow their purpose nor to die in defence of their cause. At the commencement and at the end of each examination they struck up the Marseillois. This well-known song of victory, with their stedfast countenance, filled the spectators with awe, and seemed to render them still formidable. Their wives were present in the court. Babœuf, in closing his defence, turned towards them, and said that "they should accompany them even to Calvary, since there was nothing in the cause for which they suffered to make them blush." Babœuf and Darthé were condemned to death; and on hearing their sentence, stabbed themselves. There is something truly affecting in this scene, and it is highly characteristic of the spirit that prevailed in the French Revolution. It shews in the midst of errors, of crimes, and anguish, that ardent zeal for liberty and truth which nothing but death could damp or extinguish; which burnt like a flame on the altar of their country and ascended in loud Hosannas with their latest breath, proclaiming

peace on earth, good-will to men. Be it that liberty and truth are but a dream, that men mistake both the means and the end; yet the belief in good and a willingness to die for it will not remain a less proud distinction of those who cherish this "fine madness" as their ruling passion and their final hope, and should preserve their names alike from oblivion and from the tooth of calumny! — In the interval between the attack on Grenelle and the condemnation of Babœuf, the royalists also had their conspiracy. The secret movers of this party hoped (for they too are credulous like all who have strong passions in which they have been disappointed) to find auxiliaries in the troops of the camp of Grenelle, who had repulsed the Babœuf faction. On this idle presumption they employed three men without influence and without name, the Abbé Brothier, an advocate in the old parliament, Lavilheurnois, and a sort of adventurer, one Dunan, to go to the chief commander Malo, and request him simply to give them up the camp of Grenelle and thus enable them to bring back the ancient *régime.* Malo informed the Directory of their application, who delivered them over to the civil tribunals; where, under the influence of the counter-revolutionary spirit which at this time was the fashion, they were treated with great lenity and escaped with a short imprisonment as their only punishment. These men were martyrs and

confessors in their way; yet I cannot bring myself to write their panegyric. Romantic generosity suits but ill with servility of spirit; and he who shews himself a hero in order to become a slave or make others so, can hope for little disinterested sympathy. There is a want of keeping and of consequent effect.

Buonaparte severely criticises the government of the Directory; and this is but natural in him, as he must wish to find reasons for having finally stripped them of their authority. The Republican calendar had divided the year into twelve equal months of thirty days, and the months into *décades;* Sunday was abolished, and the *décadi,* or tenth day, had been appointed as the day of rest. The Directory, not satisfied with this idle and fanciful measure, went, he says, still farther, and prohibited the people under regular penalties from working on the *décadi* and from resting on the Sunday, employing the peace-officers, *gensdarmes,* and others, to enforce the execution of these absurd regulations. The people were thus tormented and exposed to persecution and vexation for matters with which the state had nothing to do, and all this in the name of liberty and the rights of man. Nothing renders a government unpopular or excites hatred and contempt sooner than a disposition to interfere in trifles, and without any reason but the itch of governing. The new system

32168

of weights and measures was another grievance complained of. The want of uniformity in French weights and measures was an inconvenience that had been long felt; and it was expected among other things that the Revolution would have corrected this evil. The remedy was in fact simple and at hand; it was to render the system of weights and measures used in the city of Paris, and which had been also employed by the Government and artists for centuries, common throughout all the provinces. Instead of this, the Government, who at that time did every thing upon a grand scale of abstraction, consulted the algebraists and geometricians upon a question of practical utility, who soon hit upon a system which neither agreed with the regulations of the public administration, with the tables of dimensions used in all arts, nor with those of any of the existing machines. Nor would other nations have agreed to this, which was meant to be an universal benefit to the world. What would the English, for instance, have said to it? The new system not only was at variance with common sense and custom, and required all the calculations of the arts and sciences to be reversed, but was in itself impracticable and unintelligible. It converted the commonest affairs of life into an abstruse mathematical calculation. Thus a soldier's ration is expressed by twenty-four ounces in the old nomenclature; this is a very simple process; but when

translated into the new one, it becomes seven hundred and thirty-four grammes and two hundred and fifty-nine thousandths. All the dimensions and lines that compose architectural works, all the tools and measures used in clock-making, jewellery, paper-making, and the other mechanic arts, had been invented and calculated according to the ancient nomenclature, and were expressed by simple numbers, which must now be represented by five or six figures. Another disadvantage was, that the *savans* introduced Greek roots, which farther multiplied difficulties; for these denominations, though they might be useful to the learned, only perplexed the common people. But the Directory made the weights and measures one of the principal affairs of Government. Instead of leaving it to time to work the change, and merely encouraging the new system by the power of example and fashion, they made compulsory laws and had them rigorously executed. Merchants and artisans found themselves harassed about matters in themselves indifferent; and this increased the unpopularity of a government which placed itself above the wants and the reach of the people, infringing on their habits and usages with all the violence that might be expected from a Tartar conqueror. It is always bad policy in a government to meddle more than it can help with the concerns of private life, which individuals understand so much better than mere theo-

rists, thus subjecting itself at once to the charge of meanness and incapacity.

Another thing which gave no small degree of umbrage, was the favour shewn to the sect of Theophilanthropists and the discountenancing of the Catholic priests. Many were hurt and scandalised at this preference, which in some cases took the shape of intolerance. The Directory had all voted for the death of the King. It was therefore thought they would favour such of their colleagues in the Convention as had been re-elected to the Councils. But the contrary was the case. The title of a *Conventional* had become a term of reproach; and the Directory, by shunning all intercourse with them, sought to avoid the disgrace that might be reflected back upon themselves. The men of 1793 were at first disposed to attach themselves to the new order of things, but were repelled and chilled by a number of ungracious acts; and being driven to extremities, they conspired together to deliver themselves from the yoke of the *Five Gentlemen of the Luxembourg*, as the Directors were called in derision. On the other hand, the Government affected to gain partisans in the privileged classes, but, as might be expected, without success. These could feel little respect for persons who had not the advantages of birth and rank on their side, who had not distinguished themselves by any signal services, and who, with the exception

of Carnot, were not men of very decided or prominent character. There is something fluttering and unsteady in the French character, which must either be awed by fear or shackled by prejudice or dazzled by success. The Directory were placed at the head of the Government on none of these grounds, but merely because being men of good intentions and of active habits they maintained the tranquillity and equipoise of the Republic—the very reason which induced the plotting and restless spirits who could not live without violence and change, to wish to get rid of them. In this manner the two extreme parties were brought forward again; the Republicans from being discountenanced, the privileged classes from being courted. The Jacobins had tried their fortune, and had been foiled. It was now the turn of the Royalists.

The elections of the year 5 (May 1797) were favourable to this party. They had possessed a minority of some consequence in the preceding legislative bodies, having at its head such men as Barbé-Marbois, Pastoret, Dumas, Portalis, Simeon, Vaublanc, Fronçon-Ducoudray, Dupont de Nemours, and others; but they waited for the succour they expected from the new third (the choice of which they influenced by every method of intimidation and intrigue) before they commenced an open attack on the government. From the first opening of the new Chambers, the spirit

which animated them was pretty evident. Pichegru, who was called by his party the French General Monk, was elected president of the Council of Five Hundred; and Barbé-Marbois with the same intention president of the Council of Ancients. The legislative body then proceeded to the nomination of a Director to replace Letourneur, who went out by rote, and the choice fell upon Barthelemy, ambassador to Switzerland; whose views coincided with those of the party who, now that the Revolution had done all the mischief, wished to prevent all the good it might do, and to heal the wounds of their country by throwing themselves with insane gratitude and fawning submission into the arms of those who had deliberately caused them. This strange and voluntary bias of a large proportion of a people to return to a slavery that had bowed them down for centuries, and to escape from which had cost oceans of blood and indignities unparalleled, is one of those phenomena in the history of modern times, which would be wholly unaccountable but for the fascination and despotic influence which power in the abstract (and the older and more corrupt the more it is an object of veneration) exercises over the imaginations of the thoughtless, the cowardly, and the selfish, who feel pride only in having a master, ease and security, in chains!

This band of parasites and renegades proceeded

systematically and artfully to their end. They reproached the Directory with the continuance of the war, as if the foreign cabinets only waited a nod from them to put an end to it; with the disorder of the finances, as if regularity and neatness were the properties of a volcano; they insisted on the unrestrained liberty of the press, in order that venal journalists might strike at the root of all liberty, and invoke tyranny as their tutelary saint; they recommended peace, as a preliminary step to disarming the Republic, economy as a means of crippling her armies. The nation, willing to listen to reason and too ready to trust to fair appearances, shared in these professed demands, but not in their secret intention. They longed for peace, but not to purchase it at the expence of all the objects for which they had contended, and which they had obtained. They had repelled the Bourbons by force of arms and by efforts of heroic courage; they did not wish tamely, from mere mental cowardice and in a fit of mawkish sentimentality (won over by elegiac strains or high-flown rhapsodies) to bow their necks to the yoke of the vanquished. They had been provoked by foreign aggression and internal discord to commit acts of violence and outrage, and had been condemned to endure and inflict much evil in the arduous struggle; but they did not choose to set the seal to their own infamy, and by not only disowning the excesses, but

by abandoning the principles of the Revolution, to give those all the credit and the triumph of this dereliction of common sense and natural feeling, who had, by making war on its principles, given rise to its excesses, and had constantly fomented the calamities of the country in order to lead to such a deplorable relapse. They might wish to forget their sufferings and wipe out the stain of their errors or their passions, but they would best do this by making a good use of the advantages they had gained, and by consolidating the elements of freedom, which had hitherto stood the shock of all opposition, and not by running from the extremes of licentiousness into those of servility, thus leaving themselves without a shadow of excuse in the strength of their attachment to the principles of liberty, and shewing that their loyalty was equally a sudden mechanical impulse, the whim of the moment, without object or consistency. They would thus indeed deservedly become the bye-word of Europe, and would earn the insulting appellation of *half-tyger, half-monkey,* which had been set upon them. If they had in moments of frenzy outraged humanity, that was no reason why they should deliberately betray it. They would in that case have more reason to blush for the tardy reparation than for the original wrong. They did not wish the priests to be imprisoned or banished in a body, on the ground of their religion or on mere

suspicion of disaffection; but neither did it seem equitable that under pretence of liberality and toleration, they should have exclusive distinctions granted them, or be exempted from the common oath of allegiance to the state, that so they might preach sedition with impunity, sow the seeds of dissension and massacres, and when they themselves became the sufferers by the hostility they had provoked, turn with pleading hands and a countenance of meek, injured innocence, to the patrons of religion and social order, and help to scatter firebrands and kindle a Holy War throughout Europe! Carnot, one of the firmest and most upright characters of the Revolution, was led away by this change in opinion, and being uneasy at the reproaches cast upon him as a member of the Committee of Public Safety, was willing to efface the recollection by associating himself with the *preux chevaliers* or equivocal patriots, who met at the Clichy Club. This was a weakness; but his subsequent conduct proved, that though he sought to escape odium and have the good word of this knot of intriguers and busybodies, he did not at all enter into their views or principles. Or he might tamper with the proposals and allurements of power when he saw no prospect of their being realised, which, when it came to the push and his country was in danger, he resisted with all his might. Such persons may be said to repent *before the fact* of their

desertion of principle, as others of weaker minds do *after it*, when it is too late. Camille-Jordan, the deputy from Lyons, a young man of considerable eloquence and spirit, but vain and extravagant, distinguished himself by a pompous panegyric on the refractory clergy, and by a proposal to restore the use of bells as peculiar to the Catholic worship. There is in this a common reaction of opinion, by means of which, as new fashions become old and the old ones new, so the petulance and egotism of the young and giddy are piqued in affecting a superiority to the prevailing tone and established maxims, and antiquated prejudices and exploded mummery are revived as brilliant and adventurous paradoxes, which shew a manly and independent way of thinking. Thus Chateaubriand afterwards published an eulogy on Christianity, not out of conviction, but thinking it would strike as a singularity, for I cannot help supposing there was a vast difference between his belief in Christianity and Fenelon's; and borrowed from Sir Robert Filmer the old story of passive obedience and non-resistance, which he gave out as a startling light and compunctious visitation of his own conscience. Camille-Jordan's first and lively sally in this retrograde path of philosophical discovery did not meet with the same success. *His* quackery was not backed by five hundred thousand bayonets. He got himself the nickname of *Jordan Carillon* (Jor-

dan of the Chimes). His motion to render the priests independent of the state and of all political obligations, was negatived in the Council of Five Hundred, who sanctioned the civic oath with acclamations of *Vive la Republic!*

Every thing seemed to announce a crisis. The refractory priests and emigrants returned in crowds. Reprisals were common in the Departments against the most noted revolutionists and the holders of the national domains. The attacks of the Councils on the Directory became more frequent and undisguised, which, however, lost them the confidence of the mass of the people, who were not disposed to any serious change. The army joined enthusiastically in expressing their sentiments of fidelity; and the Government made Hoche advance with several regiments of the Army of the Sambre and Meuse near Paris, passing the constitutional barrier —a violation of the law of which the Councils complained loudly, and of which the Directory excused themselves by pretending ignorance. Carnot in vain attempted a reconciliation between the two opposite parties. He had attached himself to Barthelemy, with whom he formed a minority in the Directory against Barras, Rewbell, and La Reveillère. These were inclined to try a *coup d'état* against the Councils, while Carnot (through a timidity the result of previous over-daring) was bent upon adhering to the letter of the law. The

Councils next endeavoured to introduce their party into the Government by proposing a change of ministry; but instead of attending to their recommendation, the Directory displaced only those whom they wished to keep in, and Benezech was succeeded by François de Neufchâteau as Minister of the Interior, Petiet by Hoche and soon after by Sherer as Minister at War, and Cochon de l'Apparent by Lenoir Laroche, and Laroche by Sotin, as Minister of Police. Talleyrand also crept into the bosom of the Government on this occasion, which he afterwards stung to death. The struggle drew nearer and nearer, and the Directory were anxious not to put it off till another year, when the new elections would in all probability have decided its fate and that of the Republic. They encouraged violent addresses against the Legislative Body from the armies. Augereau brought that from the Army of Italy, by Buonaparte's desire; and had the 18th of Fructidor turned out differently, he himself was prepared to follow with 15,000 men, expel the royalists, and place himself at the head of the popular party. This address ran thus:—"Tremble, Royalists! From the Adige to the Seine there is but one step. Tremble! Your iniquities are counted, and you will find that their reward is at the end of our bayonets." "It is with indignation," said the address of the *état-major*, "that we have seen

the cause of liberty menaced by the intrigues of royalists. We have sworn, by the manes of the heroes who have died for their country, implacable enmity to royalists and royalty. Such are our sentiments, such are yours" (to the Directory), "such are those of all good patriots. Let the royalists shew themselves, and they will have ceased to live!" The Councils remonstrated, but to no purpose, against the interference of the army. General Richepanse, who commanded the troops that had arrived from the frontier, stationed them at Versailles, Meudon, and Vincennes.

The Councils meantime increased the powers of the Commission of Inspectors of the Hall, to which Willot and Pichegru belonged. On the 17th of Fructidor, the Legislative Body voted the formation of a National Guard and the removal of the regular troops; and the following day Willot proposed that if these measures were not complied with, they should decree the arrest of Barras, Rewbell, and La Reveillère, march against the Directory with Pichegru at their head, and overturn the Government. It is said that Pichegru hesitated, and thus lost the game he had been so long playing for. This was not the case with the Directory. They determined to aim an instant blow at Carnot, Barthelemy, and the majority of the Legislature. The morning of the following day (September 4th) was fixed upon for the exe-

cution of their plan. During the night the troops encamped round Paris entered the city, under the command of Augereau. The intention of the triumvirate was to make the soldiers occupy the Thuilleries before the meeting of the Legislative Body, in order to avoid the scandal of a violent expulsion; to convoke the Councils in the neighbourhood of the Luxembourg, after having arrested their principal agitators, and to accomplish, by an official measure, what had been begun by force. They were in intelligence with the Minority of the Councils, and hoped for the approbation of the mass. At one in the morning the troops arrived at the Hôtel-de-Ville, and dispersed themselves along the quays, on the bridges, in the Champs-Elysées, and shortly 12,000 men and forty pieces of cannon surrounded the Thuilleries. At four o'clock the alarm-gun was fired; and General Augereau presented himself at the grate of the Pont-Tournant.

The guard of the Legislative Body was under arms. The Inspectors of the Hall, apprised overnight of the intended movement, had gone to the Thuilleries to block up the entrance. Ramel, the Commander of the Guard, was devoted to the Councils, and had placed his eight hundred grenadiers in the divers avenues of the garden which was closed by iron gates. But it was not with so small and uncertain a force that Pichegru, Willot, and Ramel could offer an effectual resistance to

the Directory. Augereau had not even occasion to force the passage of the Pont-Tournant; he was no sooner in sight of the grenadiers than he called out to them, "Are you Republicans?" and these, lowering their arms, replied, "*Long live Augereau! Long live the Directory!*"—and immediately joined him. Augereau then crossed the Garden of the Thuilleries, reached the Hall of the Councils, arrested Pichegru, Willot, Ramel, all the Inspectors, and had them conveyed to the Temple. The members of the Councils, called together in haste, repaired in crowds to the place of their sittings, but were arrested or conducted back by the armed force. Augereau informed them that the Directory, urged by the necessity of defending the Republic against conspirators sitting in the midst of them, had designated the Odeon and the School of Medicine as the places of their meeting.* The greater number of the deputies present exclaimed against military violence and the usurpation of the Directory; but they were compelled to yield.

At six in the morning the enterprise was completed. The Parisians, when they awoke, found the troops still under arms, and the walls placarded with proclamations which announced the detection of a formidable conspiracy. The people were invited to maintain order and tranquillity. As soon as the Councils were assembled at the Odeon

and the School of Medicine in sufficient numbers to deliberate, they declared themselves permanent. A message from the Directory acquainted them with the motives of the steps it had just taken. It was to this effect: "Citizen Legislators, if the Directory had waited a day longer, the Republic would have been delivered up into the power of its enemies. The very place of your sittings was the point of communication between the conspirators; it was from thence that they distributed money and tickets for the delivery of arms; it is from thence that they corresponded during this night with their accomplices; it is from thence, or in the neighbourhood, that they yet strive to collect seditious and clandestine assemblages of their partisans, which the police are at this moment employed in dispersing. It would have been to compromise the public safety and that of the Deputies who continued faithful to their trust, to have suffered them to remain confounded with the enemies of the country in a den of conspirators." A commission, composed of Siéyes, Poulain-Grandpré, Villars, Chazal, and Boulay de la Meurthe, was ordered by the Council of Five Hundred to present a law of public safety on the occasion. By this law two of the Directors were sentenced to banishment, with fifty-two Deputies, and one hundred and forty-eight private individuals, journalists and others; the elections of several departments were annulled,

new measures of public security were decreed, the nomination of Carnot and Barthelemy to the Executive Directory was set aside, and they were replaced by Merlin and François de Neufchâteau. Most of those who were included in this sweeping condemnation were sent to Cayenne, but several went no further than the Isle of Rhé. Carnot, who had warning given him the night preceding, escaped to Geneva. Thus the scheme of the Royalist party was defeated by a vigour beyond the law, but scarcely beyond the occasion. The plan, at least of those who were in the true secret of the plot, had been to discredit and weaken the Directory, to fill it with their creatures, and then to proclaim a counter-revolution, as the only remedy for the calamities which afflicted the country. Buonaparte finds fault with the severity and precipitation used by the Directory at this juncture, and their conduct appears in some instances to have been rash and ill-judged. They would not, or could not, discriminate between accidental aberrations and rooted hostility and lukewarmness. He himself afterwards tried the opposite scheme of forbearance and lenity, and composed an administration of neutrals and reclaimed renegadoes. The event was answerable; for by giving power to your adversaries, you do not make them your friends; nor do personal favours alter the sentiments of individuals, except by corrupting their principles,

which is a bad ground of confidence and attachment.

The public was at first equally astonished and incredulous as to the measures of the 18th and 19th of Fructidor. It was suspected that D'Entraigues's papers and Duverne's discoveries (the evidence to which the Directory had hitherto appealed) were forged; but all doubt ceased and men's minds were satisfied when the following proclamation appeared, addressed by Moreau to his army, and dated from his head-quarters at Strasburg, 23d of Fructidor (September 9, 1797): —"Soldiers, I have this instant received the proclamation of the Executive Directory, dated the 18th of this month, informing France that Pichegru has rendered himself unworthy of the confidence with which he has so long inspired the whole Republic and the armies in particular. I have also been informed that several military men, too confident in the patriotism of that representative, and considering the services he had rendered to the state, doubted this assertion. I owe it to my brethren in arms and fellow-citizens to declare the truth. It is but too true that Pichegru has betrayed the confidence of all France. On the 17th of this month I informed one of the members of the Directory that a correspondence with Condé and other agents of the Pretender had fallen into my hands, which left no doubt of these treasonable acts. The

Directory has summoned me to Paris, requiring, no doubt, more complete information respecting this correspondence. Soldiers, be calm, and dismiss all anxiety respecting the state of affairs at home; depend upon it that the Government will keep down the royalists, and vigilantly maintain the republican constitution which you have sworn to defend."

On the 24th (September 10) Moreau wrote as follows to the Directory:—"I did not receive your order to set out for Paris till a very late hour on the 22d, when I was ten leagues from Strasburg. Some hours were necessary for me to make arrangements for my departure, to secure the tranquillity of the army, and to apprehend several persons compromised in an interesting correspondence which I shall myself deliver to you. I send you subjoined a proclamation which I have issued, which has had the effect of convincing many incredulous persons; and I confess I find it difficult to believe that a man who had done his country such important services, and had no interest in betraying it, could have been guilty of such infamous conduct. I was thought to be a friend of Pichegru; but I have long ceased to esteem him. You will see that no one was in greater danger than myself, for the whole scheme was founded on the expected reverses of the army which I commanded: its courage has saved the Republic."

There is an extremely conscious, exculpatory tone in all this, which, coupled with subsequent transactions and the tardy exposure of Pichegru's plot, throws a very suspicious light on Moreau's character and intentions even at this early period. The letter which he alludes to as having been addressed to Barthelemy (a very safe depositary for such a letter in case the plan had not been defeated) was as follows: "Citizen Director—You will recollect, no doubt, that on my last visit to Bâle, I informed you that at the passage of the Rhine we took a waggon from General Kinglin, containing two or three hundred letters of his correspondence; those of Wittersbach formed part of them, but were the least important. Many of these letters are in cypher, but we have found out the key to them: the whole are now decyphering, which occupies much time. No person is called by his real name in these letters, so that many Frenchmen who are in correspondence with Kinglin, Condé, Wickham, D'Enghien, and others, are not easily discovered. We have nevertheless such indications, that several are already known. I had determined not to give publicity to this correspondence, since, as peace might be presumed at hand, there seemed to be no danger to the Republic: besides, these papers could have afforded proofs against but few persons, as no one is named in them. But seeing at the head of the parties which

are now doing so much mischief to our country, and in possession of an eminent situation of the highest confidence, a man deeply implicated in this correspondence and intended to act an important part in the recal of the Pretender (the object to which it relates), I have thought it my duty to apprize you of the circumstance, that you may not be duped by his pretended republicanism; that you may watch over his proceedings, and oppose his fatal projects against our country, since nothing but a civil war can be the object of his schemes. I confess, Citizen Director, that it is with deep regret that I inform you of this treason, and the more so, because the man I denounce to you was once my friend, and would certainly have continued so still, had I not detected him. I speak of the representative of the people, Pichegru. He has been too prudent to commit any thing to writing; he only communicated verbally with those who were entrusted with this correspondence, who carried his proposals and received his answers. He is designated under several names, that of Baptiste among others. A Brigadier-General, named Badouville, was attached to him, and is mentioned by the name of *Coco*. He was one of the couriers whom Pichegru and the other correspondents employed; you must have seen him frequently at Bâle. Their grand movement was to have taken place at the beginning of the campaign of the year IV. They reckoned on

the probable occurrence of some disasters on my taking the command of the army; which, as they expected, discontented at its defeat, would call for its old commander, who in that case was to have acted according to circumstances and the instructions he would have received. He was to have 900 louis-d'ors for the journey which he took to Paris at the time of his discharge; which accounts in a natural way for his refusing the Swedish embassy. I suspect the Lajolais family of being concerned in this plot. The confidence which I have in your patriotism and prudence alone determined me to give you this intelligence. The proofs are as clear as day; but I doubt whether they are judicial. I intreat you, Citizen Director, to have the goodness to assist me with your advice on this perplexing occasion. You know me well enough to conceive how dear this disclosure costs me; nothing less than the danger which threatened my country could have induced me to make it. The secret is confined to five persons; General Desaix, General Regnier, one of my aides-de-camp, and an officer engaged in the secret service of the army, who is constantly employed in pursuing the clue of information afforded by the decyphered letters."

The letters found in Kinglin's waggon were soon after published; proofs of Pichegru's treachery came pouring in from all sides; and he became

the object of general detestation. When Napoleon heard of the result of the 18th of Fructidor, he expressed great dissatisfaction with the conduct of the Directory. They had included in the same unsparing proscription persons who were concerned in plotting the destruction of the Republic, and who were known to be in correspondence with its enemies, and those of whose guilt there was either no proof, or who were in the main, notwithstanding any minor differences of opinion or momentary disgusts, among its staunchest and warmest friends. He would have had Pichegru, Willot, Imbert Colomés, and two or three more of that stamp, brought to trial, and condemned to expiate on the scaffold the crimes which they had committed, and of which Government possessed the proofs; and he would have had those who were suspected to have listened to or not revealed their intrigues, deprived of their functions and placed under inspection in the interior, as a measure of necessary precaution; but here he would have stopped. He was shocked to see men of great talents, who had done much for the Revolution, and of whose defection there was no proof but conjecture or hearsay, condemned to perish, without trial or evidence, in the marshes of Sinnamari. So far he was right in this discrimination of classes and degrees of delinquency, and in making some entire exceptions; but whether he was right in calling the most

dissatisfied and lukewarm of this band of negative patriots to some of the chief offices of the state afterwards, is a question that admits of great doubt, and the measure was hardly justified by the event.

In October 1796, the English Government had consented to treat for peace with the French Republic, and sent Lord Malmesbury over to Paris for that purpose; but the cession of Belgium to Austria was a stumbling-block in the way, and the negociations were broken off. It was on this occasion that Mr. Burke wrote his celebrated pamphlet against a *Regicide Peace*. The preliminary treaty of Leoben, by which the Emperor relinquished Belgium, induced the English to renew the proposal, and Lord Malmesbury repaired to Lisle. A favourable issue was expected, and a treaty was on the point of being concluded on terms more advantageous to France than those of the peace of Amiens; when the events of the 18th of Fructidor taking place, the Directory, elated with success, raised their demands; the conferences were broken off; and Lord Malmesbury wrote over from London to say that the English Cabinet would send no more plenipotentiaries till it was better convinced of the sincerity of the French Government, or of the stability and reasonableness of its views and engagements.

CHAPTER XVI.

BUONAPARTE'S RETURN TO PARIS IN 1797.

NAPOLEON, during the two years of his campaigns in Italy, had filled all Europe with the renown of his arms, which gave the first stunning blow to the Coalition. Fame, after having slept a thousand years, seemed to have seized her ancient trump; and, as in the early periods of Greece and Rome, freedom smiled on victory. Those who ever felt that dawn of a brighter day, that spring-time of hope and glow of exultation, animate their breasts, cannot easily be taught to forget it, either in the dazzling glare or cheerless gloom that was to succeed it. But it is perhaps enough for great actions to *have been*, and still to be remembered when they have ceased to be; and thus to stir the mind in after-ages with mingled awe, admiration, and regret.

On Napoleon's arrival in Paris, the leaders of the different parties were eager to call upon him, and to make him different offers, to which he paid little seeming attention. The streets and squares through which he was expected to pass were constantly crowded with people, curious to see the

gainer of so many battles, who but seldom shewed himself. The Institute having chosen him one of its members, he adopted its costume. He had no regular visitors, except a few men of science, such as Monge, Berthollet, Borda, Laplace, Prony, and Lagrange; Generals Berthier, Desaix, Lefebvre, Caffarelli Dufalga, Kleber, and a very few deputies. He had a public audience given him by the Directory, who had scaffoldings erected in the Place du Luxembourg for the ceremony, the ostensible reason for which was the delivery of the treaty of Campo-Formio. In his address to the Directory, he made use of the following expressions, which were considered as remarkable at the time, and which did not become less so in their application to subsequent events. "In order to attain freedom, the French people had to fight with the Allied Kings; and to obtain a constitution founded on reason, they had to combat the prejudices of eighteen centuries. Superstition, the feudal system, and despotism have successively governed Europe for twenty ages; but the era of representative governments may be dated from the peace which you have just concluded. You have accomplished the organization of the Great Nation, whose vast territories are bounded only by the limits which nature herself has set to them. I present you the treaty of Campo-Formio, ratified by the Emperor. This peace secures the liberty, prospe-

rity, and glory of the Republic. When the happiness of the French people shall be established upon the best-founded laws, the whole of Europe will become free."

The same reflection almost unavoidably occurs here as that suggested in the line in Hamlet—"Methinks the lady doth profess too much." But as Buonaparte's power and reputation hitherto had been connected with the triumph of the broad principles of the Revolution, they would naturally still predominate in his mind, whatever designs might lurk there pointing to a different conclusion. The floating visions of ambition and power had not yet acquired solidity or consistency enough to afford a practical counterpoise to the world of opinion and feeling around him. Men take their hue from surrounding objects and circumstances, till they can mould them in their turn; and scarcely acknowledge or bestow a glance of approbation on their own projects of aggrandisement or selfish policy, till they are ripe for execution, and seem by the near prospect of success to justify the attempt. Generals Joubert and Andreossy on this occasion carried the standard which the Legislative Body had presented to the Army of Italy, with the chief actions which it had performed inscribed in letters of gold. The Directory, the Legislative Body, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs gave entertainments to Napoleon. He appeared at them, but

only for a short time. At the house of Talleyrand, a celebrated woman (Madame de Stael) wishing to enter the lists with the Conqueror of Italy, addressed him in the midst of a numerous circle, desiring to know who in his opinion was the greatest woman in the world, dead or alive? "*She who has borne the greatest number of children,*" was the answer. This was the commencement of a long and galling rivalry between the wit and the future statesman. People thronged to the sittings of the Institute for the purpose of seeing Napoleon, who usually took his place there between Laplace and Lagrange, the latter of whom was sincerely attached to him. He never attended the theatre except in a private box; and declined a proposal from the managers of the Opera, who wished to give a grand representation in honour of him. When he afterwards appeared in public on his return from Egypt, his person was still unknown to the inhabitants of Paris, who flocked eagerly to see him. This shyness was not, as it may be thought, affected or the result of policy, but natural. It was the coming forward that was forced or like assuming a part. His temper was in itself reserved, and all his habits plain and simple. Besides, true glory always shrinks from the public gaze and admiration, except on rare and appropriate occasions; it has "that within which passes shew;" and mere personal appearance or external homage can but

ill correspond with and but imperfectly express the great things it has performed, or the greater which it meditates. It was well for Napoleon when he had, in the decline of his fortune, to shew himself at the loop-holes of the Thuilleries on "some raw and gusty day," in answer to the cries of a few idle boys who shouted "*Vive l'Empereur!*" under his window, that he could recal a time when he had withdrawn from the tumultuous and extravagant demonstrations of popular applause, and only submitted to it as a state-necessity, or when the course of public events forced it upon him.

The Directory kept up an appearance of the greatest cordiality. When they thought proper to consult him, they used to send one of the Ministers to request him to assist at the Council, where he took his seat between two of them, and delivered his opinion on the matters in question. At the same time, the troops as they returned to France extolled him to the skies in their songs and in their talk; declaring that it was time to turn the lawyers out, and make him king. The Directory carried the affectation of candour so far as to shew him the secret reports which were made by the police on the subject, though they could not conceal the jealousy and mortification which all this popularity excited in their minds. Napoleon was aware of the delicacy and difficulty of his situation. There was evidently something behind the Government

greater than the Government itself. The proceedings of the administration were by no means popular, and many persons turned their eyes on the conqueror of Italy. The Directory proposed to him to return to Rastadt; but he refused to do so, on the ground that his mission into Italy had terminated at Campo-Formio, and it no longer became him to wield both the pen and the sword. Soon after this he consented to accept the command of the Army of England, as a cover to the design and preparations for the expedition into Egypt. The troops composing this army were quartered in Normandy, Picardy, and Belgium. Their new General visited every point, but chose to travel *incognito* through the Departments. His public reputation did not yet come up to his idea of himself. These secret journeys contributed to increase the anxiety of the British Government, and to mask the preparations making in the South of France. It was at this period that he visited Antwerp, and conceived the plan of the important naval establishments which he carried into execution under the Empire. It was also in one of these journeys that he perceived the great advantages which St. Quentin would derive from the canal which was opened under the Consulate; and gave the preference to Boulogne over Calais, from the circumstance of the tide, for the purpose of attempting a descent upon England in boats.

Nothing can be more shallow or unjust than the imputation so often thrown out against Buonaparte that he was a mere soldier, and was compelled to go to war because he had no talents for or resources in peace. He had a mind and eye at all times alive and intent on whatever objects could aggrandize or adorn his country, either in peace or war, and, as he said of himself, "there was not an understanding in all France more essentially *civil* than his." His only fault was, that as he had a great capacity for business of every kind and an indefatigable activity, he wished to extend his influence too far beyond what is consistent with human ability or the nature of human affairs, and sunk under the attempt to subject every thing to his control, as if he possessed a kind of omnipresence.

He had about this period several subjects of difference with the Directory, in few of which his advice prevailed. The first was the line of conduct to be observed towards Switzerland. France had serious grounds of complaint against the canton of Berne and the Swiss aristocracy: all the foreign agents who had been employed to raise disturbances in France, had constantly made Berne their chief place of rendezvous. A fit occasion had now arrived for destroying the preponderance of this aristocracy, by means of the great influence which the Republic had lately acquired in Europe. Buonaparte approved highly of the resentment of the

Directory at the intrigues and machinations carried on against France, and was for seizing this opportunity for putting an end to them; but he did not think it necessary for that purpose to overturn every thing in the country. The proper course appeared to him to be, for the French Ambassador to present a note to the Helvetic Diet, supported by two camps, one in Savoy, the other in Franche-Comté; and to declare by this note that France and Italy considered it essential to their policy, their safety, and the tranquillity of all parties, that the Pays-de-Vaud, Argau, and the Italian bailiwicks should become free and independent cantons, on an equal footing with the other cantons; that they had reason to complain of the aristocracy of certain families of Berne, Soleure, and Fribourg; but that they would consign all these causes of discontent to oblivion, provided the peasants of those cantons and of the Italian bailiwicks were reinstated in their original rights. These moderate changes might have been effected without difficulty, and without resorting to arms; but Rewbell, over-persuaded by some zealous Swiss patriots, had got a different system in his head; and the Directory, without paying the least attention to the manners, religion, or local peculiarities of the different cantons, resolved upon giving Switzerland a constitution exactly similar to that of France. The small cantons were enraged

at the loss of their liberty; the rest took up arms in defence of their immunities, and much blood was shed in appeasing a fruitless and unnecessary quarrel. This was furnishing a handle to the fears and jealousy of the continental powers; and violating (without any adequate motive) an asylum long held sacred to liberty. Switzerland was *rhetorical* ground; and in a war of names and prejudices, ought not in prudence to have been meddled with. Buonaparte himself fell into the same snare afterwards, tempted by the same bait, the love of power and interference. The independence of Switzerland thenceforth became one of the watch-words of the Allied Sovereigns, and a standing common-place in the list of phrases of their hireling declaimers. It is curious to see Napoleon, not only remonstrating against the conduct of the Directory beforehand, but inveighing against it with bitterness and derision even after he himself had been led to imitate the weak and unsound part of it. He should have taken warning, and let Switzerland alone; his not doing it was making war upon the name and language of liberty, often of more consequence than the thing itself!

Not satisfied with waking the echoes of ancient liberty in the rocks and valleys of Switzerland, the Directory were determined to bring all the owls and bats about their ears that were likely to be dislodged from the crumbling ruins of papal

superstition. The court of Rome even after the treaty of Tolentino, urged on by its disappointments and disregarding its engagements, still chose to persist in its hostility against the French name, quarrelled with the Cisalpine Republic, again placed an Austrian General (Provera) at the head of its troops, and excited a popular tumult; in attempting to quell which Duphot, a young General of the greatest promise, and who happened to be at this time at Rome on his travels, was murdered at the gate of the French Ambassador's palace. The latter withdrew to Florence. Napoleon when consulted replied that "*Events ought not to govern policy, but policy events;* that however wrong the court of Rome might be, the object was not to punish its folly or presumption, but to prevent the recurrence of similar accidents in future; that for this purpose it would be best not to overturn the Holy See, but to require that it should make an example of the guilty, send away Provera, compose its ministry of the most moderate prelates, and conclude a Concordat with the Cisalpine Republic, which might prepare men's minds for something like a similar arrangement at a future period with the French Republic." But all this, except the last, had been tried before and failed. The Directory therefore (this time led by Lepaux) determined to give the rein to their resentment and revolutionary zeal, to march against the

Pope, and dethrone that idol of slavish superstition. They thought that the words *Roman Republic* would act as a talisman and kindle all Italy into a flame. They did not at all approve of the half-measures suggested and pursued by Napoleon, his neutralising the spirit of liberty and tampering with the remains of antiquated bigotry; and threw out shrewd hints that he might have his private views in all this caution and moderation, and that not only by his considerate behaviour to the Pope, but by his zealous anxiety for the exiled priests, he wished to gain friends (and indeed had done so) among those who were not the friends of the Revolution. The idea that the attack on Rome might bring on a war with Naples they treated as altogether chimerical. Berthier accordingly received orders to march an army on Rome, and to re-establish the old Roman Republic, which was done without delay. The Capitol once more beheld Consuls, a Senate, and a Tribunate. Fourteen Cardinals went in procession to St. Peter's to sing *Te Deum* in commemoration of the restoration of the Roman Republic, and the destruction of the throne of St. Peter. Really in reading over such accounts as these, one is not surprised at Mr. Burke's expression of "the grand carnival and masquerade of this our age," applied to the freaks and absurdities of the French Revolution, though no one contributed more to

them than he did by impeding its natural and salutary course with the rubbish of mouldering prejudices and venal sophistry. One would suppose from the scene acted on this occasion that states were built up and Republics manufactured on the same principle that children build houses with packs of cards. But revolutions must be accomplished, like other things, according to nature. The fabric of society must grow up from a solid foundation, and its improvements be effected by the wide-spread and gradual triumph of general principles, and not by the sudden changes of scenery or preposterous assumptions of character, that are met with in a pantomime. Power and authority has its date; and different systems and maxims prevail at different periods of the world, and sweep away all traces of those which went before them; but to suppose that we can disarm inveterate bigotry and crimson pride by a few cant-phrases, that we can decompose the texture of men's minds and the inmost passions of their souls by infusing into them our own opinions of yesterday, or that we can get the very props and pillars of an ancient edifice of superstition to become accessary to their own condemnation and to walk in the pageant of their own disgrace, is contrary to all we know of history or human nature. To make an adversary an accomplice in the triumph over him, is a cruel mockery: those on the other

hand who suppose that others are sincere converts to a cause that takes all their power and self-consequence from them, or thrusts them out from being installed as the oracles of truth or the vice-gerents of God upon earth, to be a bye-word and a laughing-stock to the world or to depend upon the shout and caprice of a mob, who before scarcely breathed but through their nostrils, are grossly deceived, and will in the end be both the dupes and victims of their own egotism and blindfold presumption. Scenes of a very scandalous and disorderly kind followed this farcical establishment of a republic, without one element of feeling or conviction to cement it; the hand that formerly restrained rapine and violence, and that seemed to say to the excesses of each party, "Hitherto shalt thou come and no further!" was removed, and it was not till after some time that the ferment subsided. There is no occasion to suppose that it was fomented by the intrigues of foreign agents, though they might be very ready to lend a helping hand to it; but the thing could hardly happen otherwise.

Bernadotte had been sent ambassador to Vienna —a choice which Napoleon objected to; both as a soldier is a bad envoy to an enemy who has been often beaten, and on account of the violence of his character. Bernadotte suffered his temper to get the better of his judgment, and committed se-

veral imprudences. One day, he thought proper to hoist the tri-coloured flag at the top of his Hotel, without any apparent reason for so doing. The populace immediately rose, tore down the flag, and insulted Bernadotte. The Directory in the ebullition of its resentment sent for Napoleon, in order to obtain the sanction of his opinion. They communicated to him a message to the Councils, declaring war against Austria, and a decree investing him with the command of the Army of Germany; but he strenuously dissuaded them from this step. "If you had intended war," he said, "you should have prepared for it independently of what has happened to Bernadotte, who has been materially to blame. In declaring war, you are only playing the game of England. It would indicate very little knowledge of the policy of the Cabinet of Vienna to imagine that if it had wished for war, it would have insulted you; on the contrary, it would have flattered you and lulled your suspicions, whilst it was putting its troops in motion, and you would have learnt its real intentions only by the first cannon-shot. Depend upon it, Austria will give you every satisfaction. To be thus hurried away by every event is to have no political system at all." These assurances of Napoleon calmed the irritation of the Directory; the conferences at Seltz took place, and as he had predicted, the Emperor gave satisfaction. Yet

it may be doubted whether this political reasoning is not spun too fine, and whether Austria was not more actuated by soreness at recent defeats and by former ill-blood, which broke out in spite of its attempts at keeping up appearances, than by the dictates of sound policy. Buonaparte judging from himself (though he too not unfrequently resembled an angry chess-player) allowed too much to cool calculation and too little to passion in the motives and conduct of courts. The Cabinet of Vienna could, under any circumstances, ill brook the neighbourhood of the French Government, and was always ready to come to blows with it. It is certain that war did break out soon after; that Austria did nourish the hope and wish for it in her bosom, though restrained by the presence of the victor, whose back was no sooner turned than she threw off the mask, broke up the negociations, and the first intimation the Republic received of it was by the murder of its ambassadors. It was with an enemy, with a host of enemies like this, that Napoleon always insists on keeping terms of moderation and temper; and perhaps with the iron bit that he held in their mouths, such might be the wisest policy; but for any one else, the advice was madness.

Buonaparte, in the mean time, who had at first given into the plan of the expedition to Egypt with great ardour, began to cool in his eagerness for

it—whether he suspected that this expedition had been originally devised merely to get rid of him, or that he found more difficulties in the enterprise than he at first thought of, or that the plot and texture of affairs began to thicken around him, and to promise scope and food for his activity and ambition at home. He stated his opinion to the Directory. "Europe," he observed, "is any thing but tranquil; the Congress at Rastadt does not come to a close; you require a force in the interior and to keep the Western Departments in awe. Would it not be advisable to countermand the expedition, and wait for a more favourable opportunity?"

The Directory, alarmed at this apparent hesitation, urged the scheme more warmly than ever. They represented the affairs of the Republic as in a most prosperous condition, though they were on the brink of a precipice. The present moment, according to them, was the most propitious that had ever occurred for attacking England through Ireland and the East. Napoleon then offered to leave Desaix and Kleber, whose talents might prove serviceable to France in case of any emergency. The Directory, who knew not their value, refused, and said, "they were more likely to want soldiers than generals." Though a party was not at this time wanting to offer to come forward and place Napoleon at the head of the Government, he de-

clined; he was not as yet popular enough to stand alone, and had he come forward now, he must have conformed and subjected himself to the views and maxims of others on the nature and ends of government, with whom he did not agree. He could not have stamped his own character on the state. He determined on these considerations to sail for Egypt, intending to return as soon as circumstances should be sufficiently ripe to call for his re-appearance on the stage. To give him the ascendancy over others, it was necessary that disasters should happen in his absence, that France should deplore the want of his powerful aid, and that victory should return to her standards with him. In alluding to this part of his life, he remarks that he had peculiar ideas of the nature of government, and that the time was not come for putting them to the trial. What these peculiar ideas were, is pretty apparent. He thought of taking the command of the state into his own hands, as he took the command of an army. He was equally fitted for one or the other; but in neither case was he to have control or competitor. He would have his council of state as he had his council of war—to suggest and advise; but he was to determine, and the people were to obey. He vaulted into the empty seat of government as a wild Arab throws himself on the back of a horse without a rider, "to turn and wind a fiery Pegasus," that answers

both to the bit and the spur. A popular government was to him as chimerical an idea as a herd of centaurs; and he hated what he had no faith in. It was so far a disadvantage to Buonaparte that he began his career as a military man; for many had thus got a notion of his taking the helm of government as unprofessional and a sort of imposture and quackery. The world never resign without reluctance the idea they first conceive of a man; and because they had not given him credit for various talents till he displayed them, think he could not have had them till they knew of them, though they must have existed equally before any proofs of them appeared. Hence half the obloquy, abuse, and misrepresentation poured upon his astonishing career. Men's littleness, envy, and incredulity must be bribed a long way beforehand to admit lofty and opposite pretensions, so that it is only when an individual is born to a throne that they conclude without hesitation or grudging that he must possess the abilities to fit him for it!

The Government at this time (January 1798) celebrated the anniversary of the death of Louis XVI.; and it was a great point in dispute whether Napoleon should be invited to attend the ceremony. On the one hand it was feared that if he did not go, it would tend to render the festival unpopular; and on the other, that if he went, the Directory would be neglected, and he alone would

be the object of public attention. He would have declined appearing at this fête altogether, as he did not approve of the occasion of it, and he enumerated his objections to the minister, who was sent to request his attendance, in the following manner :—" That he had no public functions; that he had personally nothing to do with this pre-ended fête, which from its very nature was agreeable but to few people; that it was a very impolitic one, the event it commemorated being a tragedy and a national calamity; that he very well understood why the 14th of July was observed, being the period when the people had recovered their rights; but that it might have recovered them and established a republic without polluting itself with the slaughter of a prince who had been declared inviolable and irresponsible by the Constitution itself;* that he did not undertake to determine whether that measure had been useful or injurious, but maintained that it was a melancholy event; that national fêtes were held in celebration of

* Which constitution, be it remembered, he was in league with other princes of the like inviolable and irresponsible class to overturn by the slaughter, if needful, of millions of his people. Buonaparte afterwards polluted himself with the slaughter of another prince of the same house without a warrant from the strict letter of law or treaties, but with a very good one from the laws of self-preservation and dictates of common sense. Those who take it upon them to execute summary justice, and " cut the Gordian knot of policy " in that way, ought not to cavil about legal forms of proceeding.

victories, but that the victims left on the field of battle were lamented; that to keep the anniversary of a man's death ought never to be the act of a government, although it might suit a faction or a sanguinary club; that he could not comprehend how the Directory, who had shut up the meetings of the Jacobins and the Revolutionary Clubs, could fail to perceive that this ceremony created the Republic many more enemies than friends; that it estranged, instead of conciliating, irritated, instead of calming; and shook the foundations of government, instead of adding to their strength." The minister employed by the Directory brought his classical parallels into play in answer to all this. He said that "Athens had always solemnized the anniversary of the death of Pisistratus, and Rome the fall of the Decemvirs; that it was the custom for all countries, and especially republics, to celebrate the fall of absolute power and the overthrow of tyrants as a triumph; that it was moreover a law of the country; and lastly, that the influence of the General of the Army of Italy over public opinion was such, that it was incumbent on him to appear at this ceremony, as his absence might be prejudicial to the interests of the commonwealth." A truer answer seems to be, that if the death of Louis XVI. was unjustifiable and contrary to every feeling that should animate the Republic, the best thing would have been for the French

people to go into mourning on the occasion, and to recal the Count de Lille, as the best reparation they could make for the injury. But as long as all Europe made war upon the French Government to avenge and compel them to acknowledge this wrong and as they stood upon the defensive, refusing to give up the rights and privileges which devolved to them from the headless monarchy, repelling scorn with scorn and force with force, in God's name let them take heart of grace on the occasion, and not blush or grow pale at an idle shew in commemoration of an act when they stood up to their knees in blood to defend it! The *backing out* of the Revolution in this manner was turning every drop of blood shed in its defence into a wanton waste of life, and every particle of spirit that was required to maintain it in time of need into cold water. Unfortunately the effect was but too plainly perceived afterwards. If Buonaparte was there, in the place which was assigned him, to make good this act of national justice, this grave and imposing example to prove that one man was not of more worth than a whole people, and to keep out all impugners of this great principle at issue between the race of mankind and the race of kings, whether he was the leader of those armies bright that once defied all opposition, or sat enthroned in mock-regal state, but still to the exclusion and in bitter derision of their pretensions, it was well—

but if it was not so and for this purpose, he had no business where he was, first or last!

A middle course was pitched upon after several consultations. The Institute attended this ceremony; and it was settled that Napoleon should walk among the members in the class to which he belonged, thus performing as a duty attached to a public body an act which he did not consider voluntary. This arrangement of the matter was very agreeable to the Directory. But when the Institute entered the church of St. Sulpice, some one who recognised Napoleon having pointed him out, he instantly became the object of general attention. As the Directory had been apprehensive, they were totally eclipsed. At the conclusion of the ceremony, the multitude suffered the Directory to walk out by themselves, and rent the air with shouts of *"Long live the General of the Army of Italy!"* This trifling circumstance did not serve to allay the displeasure of the rulers of the state against him.

Another circumstance which happened about this time placed Napoleon under the necessity of loudly condemning the conduct of the Directory. At the Garchi coffee-house, two young men, on account of the manner in which they wore their hair in tresses (which was considered as a political distinction) were insulted, attacked, and killed on the spot. This murder had been conducted, as it was supposed, under the orders of the Minister of Police,

and was executed by some of its agents. Napoleon, even with a view to his own safety, found it necessary to keep a vigilant eye upon events of this nature. He gave a loose to his indignation. The Directory were alarmed, and were weak enough to send one of their emissaries to him to gloss over this outrage, but without making any impression on Buonaparte, who persisted in the most unqualified and pointed reprobation of it. It was also at this period that Sir Sidney Smith, who was confined as a close prisoner in the Temple, applied to Buonaparte to use his influence with the Directory to allow him his freedom; but he made answer that he could do nothing, as they were determined to carry things with a high hand. It is a singular example of the effect of personal character and of a spirit of generosity and bravery when it shines through the whole air and deportment of a man, that Sir Sidney Smith, during the two years he remained in the Temple, obtained such influenoe over the gaoler, and the latter reposed such confidence in his bare word of honour, that he often let him out on his parole, and accompanied him to coffee-houses, the theatres, or even went out hunting with him in the woods of Echoen near Paris, at the very time when he was supposed to be *au secret*. Such is the ascendant which courage and frankness of spirit exercise over the honest and humane mind.

A considerable change had taken place in Buo-

naparte's situation and manner of living since his return to Paris this time. He lived in a style of affluence, and was (whether he encouraged it or not) an object of public attention. Two years before, he had lived in great frugality as well as obscurity, and had often passed whole mornings at a little reading-room in the Palais-Royal, where, seeing him cold and tired, the wife of the master of the shop would sometimes invite him to take a basin of soup with her, applying to him the familiar epithet of her Little Corsican (*Petit Corsico*). As a recompence for this kindness and hospitality, Buonaparte, when First Consul, gave her husband the employment of making the Abridgment of the Moniteurs, which was a considerable advantage to him. When afterwards it became a question how to restrict the liberty of the press, and some one proposed to Buonaparte to strike at the grievance complained of at once by putting down the reading-rooms, he replied, "No, he would never do that—he had known too well the comfort of having a place of that kind to go to, where he could always find a fire and the newspaper or pamphlet of the day to amuse him, ever to deprive others who might be in his situation of the same resource." *

* He used at this time to frequent the Caffé Corazza in the Palais-Royal.

CHAPTER XVII.

EXPEDITION INTO EGYPT—BATTLE OF THE PYRAMIDS.

BUONAPARTE set sail for Egypt from Toulon in the night of the 18th of May 1798. He arrived before Malta, and took possession of that place on the 10th of June, after doubling Cape Corso and Cape Bonara. Caffarelli, seeing the strength of the place when they entered, observed to the Commander-in-Chief, "It was well we had friends here to let us in." When the French squadron left Toulon, it was composed of thirteen sail of the line, six frigates, and a dozen brigs, sloops, and cutters. There was one ship (the Orient) of 120 guns and three of 80. A fleet of several hundred sail accompanied it. The French squadron, availing itself of the number of light vessels it possessed, obtained intelligence from a great distance, so that the convoy had nothing to fear, and in case of falling in with the enemy, could easily get out of the reach of the engagement. Every French man-of-war had 500 soldiers on board, with a company of land-artillery amongst them. Twice a day, during the month they had been out at sea, the troops had been exercised in manœuvring the

guns. The French army in all amounted to about 28,000 men. During a great part of the voyage, the probability of falling in with the English was the general subject of conversation. Nelson, who had been joined by Lord St. Vincent's ten ships, and was appointed to the command of the squadron that was on the look-out for the French fleet, was cruising off Toulon on the 1st of June. He did not then know that the French Admiral had left that port, nor did he learn till he arrived at Naples on the 20th that the French had landed their troops at Malta, and that the expedition was intended for Egypt. This destination was the only one that had escaped the English Government, and had not been pointed out as probable in their instructions to the Admiral. On having the intelligence of the capture of Malta by the French confirmed to him at Messina, and also hearing that they were making for Candia, he immediately passed the Faro of Messina, and made sail for Alexandria, where he arrived on the 29th of June.

The French squadron received the first intimation of the presence of an English fleet in these seas off Cape Bonara, from a ship that fell in with it; and on the 25th of June, while reconnoitring the coast of Candia, it was joined by the frigate La Justice, which had been cruising off Naples, and which brought positive news to the same effect. Napoleon upon this gave orders that, instead of

steering directly for Alexandria, the squadron should manœuvre so as to make Cape Aza in Africa, twenty-five leagues to the west of Alexandria, and should not appear before this last place till further intelligence could be procured of the English fleet. On the 29th of the same month, the coast of Africa and Cape Aza were descried. Nelson was just then arrived before Alexandria, where gaining no tidings of the French squadron, he steered for Alexandretta and from thence for Rhodes, scoured the Isles of the Archipelago, touched at Syracuse to take in water, and on the 28th of July anchored off Cape Coron at the extremity of the Morea, where he was first informed that the French army had landed in Egypt a month before.

When the French fleet arrived off Alexandria, a violent storm prevailed; but Buonaparte learning that the English had been there only a short time before, threw himself on shore at the risk of being wrecked. At the very moment when preparations were making for landing the troops, the signal was given that a ship of war was seen in the offing. "Fortune," exclaimed Napoleon, "wilt thou forsake me now? Only grant me five days!" The alarm was a needless one; the vessel was one of their own frigates. Buonaparte, however, had the troops landed in the course of the day; marched all night; and at day-break attacked Alexandria with only 3000 men, harassed with fatigue, des-

titute of cannon, and almost without a proper supply of cartridges. In five days he was master of Rosetta and Damanhour, that is to say, had already obtained a footing in Egypt. In those five days, if the instructions given by the General-in-Chief had been followed, the French squadron ought also to have been out of the reach of the English forces, however superior in numbers; but fate had ordered it otherwise. The difference indeed between Buonaparte and those who have been less the favourites of Fortune than he was, seems to have been, that as far as he could help it, he left nothing in her power; he seized her favours with a bold and nimble hand, and allowed not a moment's interval or the least opportunity for her caprice or neglect. He knew the inestimable value of time; and his sagacity in determining on the spot what was best to be done was equal to his rapidity in carrying it into effect.

Before the French General left Alexandria to advance against the Mamelukes, he repeated his orders to Admiral Brueys to enter the port, which could be done by lightening the largest ships (the small ones could enter easily); or if he should consider this impossible, then to proceed without loss of time to Corfu and thence back to Toulon. But the Admiral neglected to enter the harbour of Alexandria, where he would have been safe from the attacks of the English fleet, on some

nautical scruples, and lingered on the coast in hopes of hearing of the arrival of the army at Cairo before he quitted it; thus by his over-solicitude for their safety running into danger himself, and taking away the only chance of the success of an expedition, at best hazardous, if not impracticable. Success in war or in every species of enterprise depends less on seeing what is fit to be done than on the spirit to do it, and on postponing our own particular fancies or feelings in affairs of importance; for the course of events is mechanical, and goes on without the least regard to what men hope or fear.

Napoleon, anxious to strike a decisive blow, and willing probably to feel his ground in this new field of action where every thing was strange and uncertain, had no sooner secured possession of Alexandria than he left it on the 7th of July, and set out on his way to Grand Cairo. The first place the army reached was Damanhour, having suffered greatly from the excessive heat and the want of water on its march. On the 10th they came to the borders of the Nile at Rahmanieh, and joined General Dugua's division, which had come by forced marches by way of Rosetta. General Desaix had been attacked by 700 or 800 Mamelukes, who after a brisk fire and the loss of some of their number retreated. In the mean time, the French General was informed that Mu-

rad-Bey, at the head of his army, composed of a great quantity of cavalry, with eight or ten gun-boats and several batteries on the Nile, was waiting to intercept their progress at the village of Shebreis. In the evening of the 12th the troops marched forward to meet him, and on the 13th at day-break, came in sight of this new enemy. The French had but 200 cavalry, many of which were disabled or worn out with fatigue: the Mamelukes presented a magnificent body of cavalry, covered with gold and silver, armed with the best London carbines and pistols and the best sabres of the East, and mounted on the finest horses in the world.

The French army was drawn up on this occasion, so that each division formed a square battalion, with the baggage in the centre, and the artillery placed in the intervals between each battalion. The five divisions of the army were placed in echelon, flanking each other and flanked by two villages which they occupied. Admiral Perré, with three gun-boats, a xebeck, and a half-galley, was to attack the enemy's flotilla. The action was obstinately sustained on both sides. Perré was wounded by a cannon-ball, but succeeded in retaking the gun-boats and half-galley which the Mamelukes had at one time taken, and in setting fire to the Admiral's ship. What shews the singular nature of the expedition was that the two

celebrated naturalists, Monge and Berthollet, were in the xebeck during the whole action, and though exposed to great danger, behaved with admirable coolness and presence of mind. While the conflict was thus maintained on the Nile, the cavalry of the Mamelukes inundated the whole plain, outflanking the French wings, and seeking on every side for a weak point to enable them to break the line; but they found this everywhere equally formidable, and were received with a double fire from flank and front. They attempted several times to charge, but could not make up their minds to it. A few of the bravest came forward and skirmished; but were driven back by the fire of the carbineers, who were placed in advance of the intervals between the battalions. At length, after remaining great part of the day within half-cannon shot, they commenced their retreat and disappeared. Their loss was supposed to be about 300 killed and wounded.

After this, the French army marched for eight days without meeting any interruption, but often reduced to the greatest straits, and in one of the most scorching climates in the world. During the route they were much harassed by clouds of Arabs flocking from all parts of the Deserts, and hovering within a few hundred yards of the camp, with a view to intercept the communications and to rob and murder all they could lay hands on. Their

practice was to lie in ambush behind the dykes on their excellent little horses, and woe to him who straggled a hundred paces from the main column! They killed a great number of soldiers and officers. Among others, General Muireur, in spite of the remonstrances of the Guard, would go alone to a mount about two hundred paces from the camp. Behind it were three Bedouins, who assassinated him. His death was much lamented by the army and by the General-in-Chief. In the evening after the first day's march, the troops bivouacked at a place called Shabur, under some fine old sycamores, where they found the fields full of *battechs*, a species of water-melon, furnishing a wholesome and refreshing food. They met with them continually, as far as Cairo; and the soldier, to shew how agreeable this fruit was to him, named it, like the ancient Egyptians, the *holy battech*. On the following day, the army began its march very late: some meat had been procured, which it was necessary to distribute with care as it was a great luxury. The flotilla still waited for the north-wind to ascend the Nile. The army slept at Kounscheric; and arrived the next day at Alkam, where General Zayonscheck received orders to land on the opposite bank, and advance to the point of the Delta. As there were no Arabs here, he could make what movements he pleased, and was of great assistance in procuring provisions.

On the 17th and 18th the army encamped at Abon-Neshabe and at Wardan, at which last place the bivouacks were formed in a large forest of palm-trees. The soldiers began by degrees to understand the customs of the country, and to dig up the lentils and others pulse which the peasants are accustomed to bury in the earth. The troops made short marches on account of the difficulty of obtaining provisions, and in order to be always in a condition to receive the enemy. They often took up a position by ten o'clock in the morning, and the first care of the soldier was to bathe in the Nile. From Wardan they went to lie at Omedinar, whence on the 19th they first perceived the Pyramids, which border the horizon of the valley on the left bank of the Nile. They look like enormous masses of rock, but for the regularity of the lines and angles. All the telescopes in the army, Napoleon observes, were instantly levelled at these the most ancient monuments in the world. But why at once wish to bring them close to the eye, to be familiar and in contact with them? Would it not be better to pause and linger on the gulph that separates us from this obscure dream and mighty wonder of the world before stripping it of its dim abstraction, and reducing it to a literal reality? One would think the mind would like to loiter and hang suspended for a time between its visionary feeling, and its waking thoughts

and not break that myterious spell at once. Wonder and fear should hold curiosity back, and gaze at a distance as at the giant phantom of the past. But no; the French think no object sacred from vulgar or scientific impertinence, and they have only two classes of ideas—words and sensible objects; the world of imagination is lost upon them! Buonaparte might have foreseen in this how they would one day turn round to look at him; pry into his foibles with their glasses, take his dimensions with a quadrant, and fortune having broken down the barrier between them, scan him with a critical eye, and wonder what it was they had ever found in him greater than themselves!

The army was approaching Cairo; and were informed by the country-people that the Mamelukes, combined with the troops of that city, and with a considerable number of Arabs, Janissaries, and Spahis, were waiting for them between the Nile and the Pyramids, covering Gizeh. They boasted that the French would there find the end of their journey. The latter halted a day at Omedinar. This pause was necessary to get the army in readiness, and to prepare for battle. Melancholy and sadness began to take possession of the troops, who constantly regretted the luxuries of Italy. In vain had they been assured that the country was the most fertile in the world, and even superior to Lombardy; how were they to be persuaded of

this when they could get neither bread nor wine? They often encamped in immense fields of wheat; but there was neither mill nor oven to be found. It would be difficult indeed to find a more fertile land, or a people more miserable, ignorant, and brutalised. They preferred one of the soldier's buttons to a crown-piece: in the country-places they do not know the use of a pair of scissors. Their houses are built of mud, the whole furniture being a straw-mat and two or three earthen pots. All their magnificence is lavished on their horses and arms. They eat or consume in general very little. The little grain the natives convert into flour they bruise with stones, although in some large villages there are mills which are turned by oxen. The biscuit which the French had brought from Alexandria had been long exhausted; so that they lived chiefly on pulse or parched wheat, or the cattle which they caught, or sometimes by shooting pigeons. The apprehensions and murmuring of the soldiers increased daily; and rose to such a pitch that many of them said there was no great city at Cairo; and that the place bearing that name was merely like Damanhour, a large assemblage of miserable huts. To such a state of despondency had they reduced themselves by complaints and gloomy forebodings, that two dragoons threw themselves in a fit of despair into the Nile, where they were drowned.

The officers even complained more loudly than the men, as the change was proportionably disadvantageous to them. The General-in-Chief, in order to set an example, used to bivouac in the midst of the army and in the most inconvenient spots. No one had either tent or provisions; the dinner of Napoleon and his staff often consisted of a dish of lentils. The soldiers, to while away the time, passed the evenings in political discussions, questions, and complaints. *For what purpose are we come here?* said some of them; *the Directory have transported us. Caffarelli*, said others, *is the instrument that has been made use of to deceive the General-in-Chief.* Many of them, taking notice that wherever there were any vestiges of antiquity they were carefully explored, vented their spleen in invectives against the *savans* or scientific men, who, they said, had started the idea of the expedition in order to make these idle researches. Jests were showered upon them, even in their presence. The men called an ass a *savant;* and said of Caffarelli Dufalga, alluding to his wooden leg, *He laughs at all these troubles; he has one foot in France.* But Dufalga and the men of science not long after regained the esteem of the army.

They set forward from Omedinar on the 21st of July, at one in the morning. At dawn, for the first time since the action of Shebreis, a Mameluke vanguard of 1000 horse shewed itself; but it retreated

in good order, without attempting any thing. At ten o'clock, Embabeh was descried with the enemy in line. Their right was supported on the Nile, where they had constructed a large intrenched camp, lined with forty pieces of cannon, and defended by 20,000 infantry, Janissaries, Spahis, and militia from Cairo. The Mameluke cavalry rested its right on this entrenched camp, and extended its left towards the Pyramids, crossing the road to Gizeh. There was about 9000 or 10,000 horse, as nearly as could be guessed, and every horseman was attended by one or two foot-soldiers. Two or three thousand Arabs kept aloof to the extreme left, and occupied the space between the Mamelukes and the Pyramids. These dispositions were formidable. The troops did not know what sort of stand the Janissaries and Spahis of Cairo would make; but they knew and were impressed with a full sense of the skill and impetuous bravery of the Mamelukes. The French army was drawn up in the same order as at Shebreis, the left resting on the Nile, the right on a large village, where General Desaix commanded, and where it took him three hours to form his position and rest a little. The intrenched camp of the enemy was reconnoitred, and it was found that it was merely sketched out, having been begun only three days before, and might be of some service against a charge of cavalry, but not against an attack by infantry. It

was also discovered by the help of good telescopes, that their cannon were not upon field-carriages, but were only great iron pieces, taken from the vessels and served by the crews of the flotilla. On this single observation (casual as it seems) the fortune of the day turned. An ordinary General would have taken it for granted that the artillery he saw was like any other artillery; but it is the true characteristic and property of genius to take nothing for granted, but, being alive to every possible change of circumstances, to look at every thing as it is, and thus to be prepared to make continual new discoveries and combinations. No sooner had the General-in-Chief satisfied himself that the artillery was not moveable, than it was clear that neither it nor the infantry could quit the intrenched camp; or if the latter should come out, it must be without artillery. The dispositions for the battle were made accordingly; Buonaparte giving immediate orders to prolong the right and to follow the movement of that wing with the whole army, thus passing out of the range of the guns of the intrenched camp, and having only the Mamelukes and the cavalry to deal with.

Murad-Bey saw the columns put themselves in motion, and quickly guessed their purpose. Though not accustomed to this kind of warfare, nature had endowed him with a quick and discerning eye, and undaunted courage, which sharpens

the sight of the mind by confronting it with the danger which it is not afraid to meet. The slight affairs in which the French had hitherto been engaged with the Mamelukes served him as experience, and he comprehended with a degree of skill that could hardly have been expected in the most consummate European General, that every thing depended on preventing his adversary from accomplishing the movement he had commenced. He advanced with two-thirds of his cavalry (6000 or 7000), leaving the rest to support the intrenched camp; and came up at the head of his troops with such rapidity that the French squares seemed falling into confusion. General Desaix, on his march at the head of his column, had entered a grove of palm-trees. However, the head of the corps of Mamelukes, which fell upon him, was not numerous, and as the mass did not arrive for some minutes, this delay proved sufficient. The squares were thus perfectly restored, and received the charge with coolness. Reynier supported their left. Napoleon, who was in Dugua's square, immediately marched on the main body of the Mamelukes, who were received with grape and a brisk fire of musquetry; thirty of the bravest died near General Desaix, having reined their horses back on the enemy to throw them into disorder; but the mass, by an instinct natural to the horse, turned round the squares, and by this means frustrated the attack. In the midst of the fire of grape and ball, of the

dust, cries, and smoke, part of the Mamelukes regained the intrenched camp, according to the natural impulse of the soldier to retreat to the spot from whence he set out. Murad-Bey and the most expert directed their flight towards Gizeh; and thus this commander found himself separated from his army. The divisions of Bon and Menou, which had formed the left, then advanced on the intrenched camp; and General Rampon was detached with two battalions to occupy a kind of defile between Gizeh and the camp, to prevent Murad-Bey from returning to it, or the Egyptian soldiers from following him.

The greatest confusion prevailed at Embabeh. The cavalry had thrown itself upon the infantry, which, seeing the Mamelukes beaten, rushed into the jerms, kaiks, and other boats to repass the Nile. Many effected the passage by swimming, an exercise in which the Egyptians excel. The forty pieces of cannon which were to have defended the camp did not fire two hundred shot. The Mamelukes, quickly perceiving that their retreat was in the wrong direction, strove to regain the Gizeh road, but were driven back by Rampon's division, on the intrenched camp, where many of them fell, and many more were drowned in attempting to pass the Nile. Their floating bodies carried the news of the victory in a few days to Rosetta, Damietta, and all along the banks. Not more than

2000 horse escaped with Murad-Bey, who finding that he was not joined by the rest, turned back several times to open a passage for them, but it was too late. The loss of the enemy on this day was reckoned at 10,000, including Mamelukes, Janissaries, Spahis, and slaves belonging to the Mamelukes. The artillery, pontoons, and baggage, all fell into the power of the French, with a thousand prisoners, and eight or nine hundred camels and as many horses. It was at the beginning of this battle that Napoleon addressed to the soldiers that noble apostrophe which afterwards was so often cited—"*From the top of those Pyramids forty centuries look down upon you!*"

It was night when the three divisions of Desaix, Reynier, and Dugua returned to Gizeh. The General-in-Chief fixed his head-quarters there, in Murad-Bey's country-house. The Mamelukes had sixty vessels on the Nile, containing all their riches. In consequence of the unexpected result of the battle, they lost all hopes of saving them, and set them on fire. During the whole night, through the volumes of smoke and flame, the French could perceive the forms of the minarets and buildings of Cairo and the City of the Dead. These columns of flame gave so much light that they could even see the Pyramids by it. The Arabs, according to their custom after a defeat, rallied far from the field of battle, in the Desert beyond the Pyramids. For

several days the whole army was busily engaged in fishing for the bodies of the Mamelukes that had been drowned; their valuable arms, and the quantity of gold they were accustomed to carry about them, rendered the soldiers very zealous in this search. Three, four, or five hundred Louis-d'ors were often found upon them. The French flotilla had not been able to follow the movement of the army in time; but they had heard the cannon, notwithstanding the north-wind, which now blew with violence and carried the sound from them. As it grew calmer, the noise of the cannon became louder; so that at last it appeared to have come nearer them; and the seamen in the evening gave the battle up for lost, till the multitude of bodies which passed near their ships, and which were all Mamelukes, restored their confidence. The populace of Cairo, the vilest in the world, when they heard of the disasters of their own people, set fire to the houses of the Beys, and committed all sorts of excesses.

About nine in the evening Napoleon entered the country-house of Murad-Bey at Gizeh. It did not at all answer to the idea of a gentleman's country-seat in Europe. It was a point of some difficulty at first to make it serve for a lodging, or to understand the distribution of the apartments. But what chiefly struck the officers with surprise was the great quantity of cushions and divans covered with

the finest damasks and Lyons silks, and ornamented with gold fringe. For the first time they found the luxury and arts of Europe in Egypt—the cradle of luxury and arts. Part of the night was spent in exploring this singular mansion in every direction. The gardens were full of magnificent trees, but without alleys, and not unlike the gardens in some of the nunneries in Italy. What most delighted the soldiers (for every one crowded to see the place) was the discovery of large arbours of vines loaded with the finest grapes in the world. The vintage was quickly over. The two divisions of Bon and Menou, that had remained behind in the intrenched camp, were equally well off. Amongst the baggage taken, had been found a great number of canteens full of preserves, pots of confectionary, and sweetmeats. Carpets, porcelain, vases of perfumes, and a multitude of little elegancies used by the Mamelukes, every moment raised the curiosity or tempted the cupidity of the army, who now began to be reconciled to Egypt, and to believe at last that Cairo was not like Damanhour. It was only the country-places that were poor and oppressed; in proportion to the general poverty and oppression of the people, the towns and habitations of those who oppressed them and drained them of every necessary or comfort, were stored with every luxury and delicacy.

The next morning at day-break, Napoleon pro-

ceeded to the river, and seizing some boats, made General Vial pass over to the Isle of Rodah, which was taken after a few musquet-shots. There was nothing further to separate the army from Boulac and Old Cairo but a large canal. The flotilla was impatiently expected, as the wind was fair; but it had run aground, owing to the lowness of the water. This gave the General-in-Chief some uneasiness, as it was necessary to take Cairo in the first moment of the enemy's stupor and surprise. It was lucky that the Janissaries of Cairo, who had been engaged in the battle, had returned in the greatest consternation and represented the French in a light approaching to the marvellous. A dragoman was sent to the Pacha and Cadi-Scheik, with the proposals of the General-in-Chief and his printed declaration that he did not make war upon the Turks, but only on the Mamelukes. The Pacha had already left the place, but his Secretary came and had a conference with the French General, who engaged him to persuade Ibrahim-Bey to retire and the people of Cairo to submit. The following morning a deputation of the Scheiks of Cairo came to Gizeh, and brought word that Ibrahim-Bey had already left the city, and was gone to encamp at Birketel-hadji; that the Janissaries had wished to surrender; and that the Iman of the Grand Mosque of Jemilazar had been charged to treat for a surrender and to implore the clemency of the victor.

The deputies remained several hours at Gizeh, where every thing was done to conciliate them. The next day General Dupuy went to Cairo and took possession of the citadel. The troops passed the canal and occupied Old Cairo and Boulac. The General-in-Chief made his entrance into Cairo on the 26th of July, at four o'clock in the afternoon. He went to lodge in the square of El-Bekir, at the house of Elphi-Bey, whither he removed his head-quarters. This house was situated at one of the extremities of the town, and the garden communicated with the country.

Cairo is situated half a league from the Nile. Old Cairo and Boulac are its ports. A canal which crosses the city is usually dry, but fills during the inundation of the Nile, when the dyke is cut. Cairo is commanded by a citadel placed on a hill, which overlooks the whole city, and is separated from the Mokattam by a valley. An aqueduct, which is a remarkable work, supplies the citadel with water The citadel also draws water from Joseph's Well, but it is not so good as that of the Nile. This fortress was neglected and falling to ruins, as well as the walls, which were built by the Arabs and surmounted by enormous towers. The Mamelukes never repaired any thing. Half the walls abut on the Desert, so that dry sands are met with on going out by the Suez gate or those which are towards Arabia. Cairo contains about 210,000 inhabitants.

The streets are built very high and narrow, in order to obtain shelter from the sun. The Beys have very fine palaces in the Oriental style. The Okels are great square buildings for merchandise, with large inner courts, and with little shops of ten or twelve feet square on the outside or next the street, in which the merchant sits with samples of his goods. Cairo contains a number of mosques, intended chiefly for the accommodation of pilgrims, who sleep in them: amongst these is Jemilazar, said to be the largest mosque in the East. In one quarter are a few European families, and some convents for the Syrian Catholics. The town abounds in coffee-houses, in which the inhabitants meet to take coffee, sherbet, and opium, and confer on public affairs. Around the city, as well as near Alexandria, Rosetta, &c. are to be seen great mounds of earth and ruins, which have a disagreeable effect, and are daily increasing, because all the rubbish from the city is brought thither. The French wished to remove this nuisance: but difficulties arose, as experience had convinced the people that it was dangerous to throw this rubbish into the Nile, where it either stopped up the canals or was spread over the country by the flood. Close to the city of Cairo, towards the Desert, is the City of the Dead, which is larger than Cairo itself: it is here that every family has its place of burial. A multitude of mosques, tombs, minarets, and domes

keep up the memory of distinguished persons who have been buried here, and who have had them built for this purpose. There are attendants to many of the tombs, who keep lamps burning in them and shew the interior to the curious. Somehow there is a cadaverous air that in general hovers over the East; decay and desolation have piled up their stateliest monuments there; Death lurks close by Life; and they treat the living bodies of men as no better than lifeless carcases!

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE BATTLE OF THE NILE.

THE celebrated battle of the Nile, or naval battle of Aboukir as the French call it, took place on the 1st and 2d of August 1798. This cut the nerves of the expedition, and from that time it halted and in the end fell to the ground. The English Government had been completely deceived as to the project of the expedition to Egypt. Nelson had not the smallest idea of the destination of the French fleet; nor was it till he had been repeatedly thrown out in the pursuit, and had coursed up and down the Mediterranean several times, like a hound at fault, that he at last got scent of his prey.

After the action of Rahmanieh, the Arabs of Bahire intercepted all communication between Alexandria and the French army; nor did they desist till the news of the battle of the Pyramids and the taking of Cairo made them apprehensive of the resentment of the French. It was not till the second day after his entrance into Cairo (July 27) that Napoleon received for the first time dispatches from Alexandria with Admiral Brueys's correspondence. By these he was extremely surprised

to find that the squadron, notwithstanding his urgent and precise orders, was not yet in safety; that it was neither in the port of Alexandria nor on its way to Corfu or Toulon; but waiting in Aboukir roads, exposed to the attacks of an enemy of greater force! Instead of getting under weigh the instant he had landed the artillery and army stores, the Admiral wasted time (as if bound by a spell) in rectifying his line of moorings, supporting his left behind the little Isle of Aboukir, where thinking it unassailable, he placed his worst ships, the Guerrier and Conquerant, and having a battery of ten twelve-pounders constructed on it. Buonaparte, on learning these particulars, dispatched his aide-de-camp Julien from the army to the Admiral to inform him of his great disapprobation, and to warn him to set sail immediately, and either to get into Alexandria or make for Corfu. He reminded him that all naval ordinances forbad the receiving battle in an open road. The aide-de-camp set out on the 27th at seven in the evening, and could not have arrived before the 3d or 4th of August, that is, till after the battle had taken place; but he had only reached Teramia, when a party of Arabs surprised the jerm in which he was, and this spirited young man was massacred by them, while courageously defending the dispatches of which he was the bearer, and of which he knew the importance.

Admiral Brueys remained inactive in the bad

position he had chosen. An English frigate, which had been detached twenty days before by Nelson, of whom she was now in search, presented herself before Alexandria and went to Aboukir to examine the whole line of moorings, which she accomplished with impunity: not a ship, frigate, or brig was under sail. Yet the Admiral had above thirty light ships with which he might have scoured the sea: they were all at anchor. At any rate he should have kept a few of these in readiness to prevent any light English vessels from watching his motions, and to obtain the earliest intelligence of their approach. On the 31st of July, Nelson sent forward two of his ships, which reconnoitred the French line of moorings without molestation. On the 1st of August, the English squadron came in sight towards three o'clock in the afternoon, with all sails set. A fresh gale of wind was blowing. Admiral Brueys was at dinner; part of the crews were on shore; the decks were not cleared in a single ship. The Admiral immediately gave orders to prepare for action, and dispatched an officer to Alexandria to demand the seamen of the convoy. Shortly after, he made a signal to get under sail; but the English squadron came up so rapidly, that there was hardly time to clear the decks, which was done with extreme negligence. Even on board the Orient, the Admiral's ship, some cabins which had been constructed on the poop for the accommoda-

tion of the officers of the army during the passage, were not removed, but were left full of mattresses and buckets of paint and tar. The Guerrier and the Conquerant each cleared only one tier of guns for action; the side that was towards the land was encumbered with all that had been cleared out from the opposite side; so that when the ships were turned, that side could not fire. The English could hardly believe this when they saw it and sent to examine the reason of it. They saw the French flag wave, though not a gun was fired.

The men who had been spared from the different crews had scarcely time enough to return on board. The French Admiral, judging that the enemy would not be within gun-shot before six o'clock, supposed that he would not attack until the following day, more particularly as he only observed eleven seventy-four-gun ships; the two others had been sent forward to Alexandria, and did not rejoin Nelson till eight in the evening. Brueys did not believe the English Admiral would attack him the same day, and with only eleven ships. Besides, it is imagined he thought at first of getting under weigh, but that he deferred giving the order till the sailors whom he was expecting from Aboukir should be embarked. All this was wrong; shewed either little stomach for the fight, by which he judged of others, or was waiting for an idle concurrence of favourable cir-

cumstances, instead of making the best use of those in his power. The cannonade now commenced; and an English ship having struck on the Isle, this accident gave Brueys fresh confidence. The sailors from Alexandria did not arrive till towards eight o'clock, and a great many of them took advantage of the confusion and darkness to remain on shore. The English Admiral's plan was to attack ship after ship, every English ship anchoring astern, and placing herself athwart the head of a French ship; but accident altered this original design. The Culloden, intending to attack the Guerrier, and endeavouring to pass between the left of that ship and the Isle, struck. Had the Isle been supplied with a few pieces of cannon, this ship might easily have been taken. The Goliah which followed her, manœuvring to anchor athwart the head of the Guerrier, was carried away by the wind and current, and did not anchor till she had passed and turned that ship. Perceiving then that the larboard tiers of the Conquerant did not fire, she placed herself alongside of that vessel, and soon disabled her. The Zealous, the second English ship, followed the movement of the Goliah, and anchoring alongside the Guerrier, which could not return her fire, speedily dismasted her. The Orion, the third English ship, executed the same manœuvre, but was retarded in her movement by the attack of a French frigate, and cast anchor between the

Franklin and the Peuple Souverain. The Vanguard, the English Admiral's ship, cast anchor athwart the Spartiate, the third French ship. The Defiance, the Bellerophon, the Majestic, and the Minotaur followed the same movement, and engaged the centre of the French line as far as the Tonnant, the eighth ship. The French Admiral and his two seconds formed a line of three ships, having greatly the advantage in size and weight of metal of those of the English. The fire was terrible: the Bellerophon was disabled, dismasted, and compelled to strike. Several other English ships were obliged to sheer off; and if at that moment Admiral Villeneuve, who commanded the right of the French navy, had cut his cables and fallen on the English line with the five ships under his command, it must have been in the greatest danger of being destroyed. The Culloden had struck on the Bequieres bank, and the Leander was engaged in trying to bring her off. The Alexander and Swiftsure, two other English ships, seeing that the enemy's right did not stir, and that their own centre was hard-pressed, made towards it. The Alexander took the place of the Bellerophon, and the Swiftsure attacked the Franklin. The Leander, which till then had been engaged in righting the Culloden, perceiving the situation in which the centre stood, hastened to its relief. Victory was still far from being decided either

way. The Guerrier and Conquerant no longer fired, but they were the worst ships the French had; and on the side of the English, the Culloden and Bellerophon were disabled. The centre of the French line had, by the great superiority of its guns, occasioned the ships opposed to it more damage than it had itself sustained. The English had only three seventy-fours against two eighty-fours and one hundred-and-twenty-gun ship. It was to be presumed then that the fire being thus kept up all night, Admiral Villeneuve would at last get under way in the morning, and a different turn to the affair must be expected by the French from the attack of five good ships, which as yet had neither fired nor received a single cannon-shot. But at eleven o'clock the Orient, belonging to the French Admiral, took fire and blew up. This event decided the victory. The dreadful explosion of this ship suspended the action for a quarter of an hour. At the end of that period, the firing commenced again, and continued without any abatement till three o'clock in the morning, when it slackened on both sides till between five and six. It then redoubled and became as terrible as ever. In a word, the battle was raging at noon, nor was it over before two o'clock. Villeneuve then seemed to awaken from his trance, and to perceive that the fleet had been fighting for twenty hours. He cut his cables and stood out to sea with two of his

ships, the Guillaume Tell * and Généreux, and with two frigates; his other three ships ran aground without fighting. Such was the havoc made in this determined fight that, twenty-four hours after the battle, the French flag was still flying on board the Tonnant, and Nelson had no ship in a condition to attack her. Not only the William Tell and Généreux were not pursued by any of the English ships, but in the shattered state they were in, they were not sorry to see them make off. Admiral Brueys, though he had received several wounds, would not go down to the cockpit; he died on his quarter-deck, giving his orders, a little before the Orient blew up. After that event, Villeneuve became commander and was the judge of his own motions; what then becomes of the plea that he waited for orders? Admiral Villeneuve was understood to be a brave and good seaman; his remaining a quiet spectator of a battle which lasted for twenty hours can therefore only be accounted for in one of three ways; either from a sudden and invincible panic at the moment; or from that over-anxiety about what was proper to be done, which suspends all power of action; or from that turn of mind through which the slightest motives, a mere form or a point of etiquette, outweigh the most serious and important consequences.

* This and the Franklin are the names of French ships, and shew at least the side their country affected.

It is quite certain that an English Admiral would not have remained neuter in this position, nor would the crews have let him, not from a difference of tactics in the two navies, but from a difference of common sense. The English understanding, so to speak, even from a certain slowness and hebetude, runs less into fine distinctions and is less liable to be led away by a variety of minor considerations, which it has not the art to magnify at pleasure into matters of importance; it sees and attends only to the principal point, the *one thing needful*, and therefore in cases of critical emergency and urgent necessity, possesses a sounder practical judgment than the French, which flutters about an object, and is distracted by a multiplicity of shifting and insignificant views of the same thing. For the same reason, the English are as inferior to the French in diplomacy as they are superior to them in downright action; because there the essential business is not to feel the real *home* truth, but to disguise it and draw off attention from it by fifty evasions and verbal excuses. The predominant feature of the English is a certain honesty or sincerity of feeling which makes them dupes—but accompanied with a steadiness of purpose and a proportion in their efforts to their sense of the importance of the occasion, which does not allow them to be willing ones. I have dwelt on this because I think it affords a clue to the superiority of

the English naval tactics. The French are undoubtedly brave, but their bravery seems to be an affair of impulse; they do not stop to calculate consequences, but yield to their national ardour and impetuosity, and rush at once on danger and the foe. Had Villeneuve had to lead a battalion of cavalry to the field, I have little doubt he would have been withheld by no considerations of prudence or punctilio from obeying the instinct of personal courage; and charging at their head, have exposed himself in the thickest of the ranks with the greatest gallantry and boldness. But in the other case, he had to manœuvre four or five unwieldy ships, to guide a complicated mechanical operation, to prevent their running ashore, to come up to the point of action, and all this nautical calculation and process of abstraction threw a damp upon his natural ardour and held his judgment in suspense. Now the Englishman's head is essentially mechanical and his will acts upon the decision of the understanding:—when a Frenchman, on the contrary, has to act from foresight and combination, he forgets the end in the means, and is either rash and flighty or formal and pedantic. So much for the naval commander. Again, with respect to those under his command, the courage of the French is in attack, or in venturing upon danger; the courage of the sailor is wholly or chiefly in defence, or in holding out against it.

Except in the case of boarding a vessel, he cannot get at his enemy or intimidate him either by gallant bearing or by personal prowess; he merely mans his own guns, and stands the fire of the enemy's battery with resolution and presence of mind, and certainly in this, which may be called the passive part of courage, the English sailor bears the bell alone. It is bred in his blood and in his bone. Stupid he may be, brutal he may be, low and vulgar; but he endures pain and wounds without flinching, and he will be sooner cut in pieces than he will give in. A bullet whizzing by makes him recollect himself; a splinter that stuns him brings him to his senses; the smart of his wounds sharpens his courage, and all that damps and startles others, rivets him to his post. The British tar feels conscious of his existence in suffering and anguish, and wooes danger as a bride. There is something in this Saxon breed of men, like the courage and resolution of the mastiff, that only comes out on such occasions. Coarse, dull, vicious, obstinate, bowed down by ignorance and benumbing want, there is something in his soul that struggles with his fate, and seeks to throw off the load that oppresses it, and stakes its all on one hour of heroic daring or unshaken fortitude; and shut out from effeminate delights, takes a pride in the extremity of pain, stands by his country, the only thing on which he values himself, to his latest breath, and

wipes out a life of shame and ignominy by a glorious end. The wooden walls of Old England are nothing but this hard, obdurate character, that melts and expands in the heat of battle as in a summer's-day, that welcomes a cannon-ball as an even match, feels the first flush of triumph with the last gush of life, and is quits with the world by the shout of victory and death! The difference then of the French and English navy depends on the character of the two nations, and this will change when the bull-dog changes natures with the greyhound. It has been said that the great error of the French (in which they persist in spite of experience) is in firing at the rigging instead of the decks; but this is only another example of what has been said before of being attached to a theory or a whim, instead of minding the *main chance.**

* As I was crossing the Channel not long ago, there was a cry of *A man overboard.* The vessel was stopped in an instant. The boat which had been just lashed to the rigging, was only half disentangled, when three of the sailors hung in it like swallows. It was no sooner let down than a fourth jumped into it; and they set off with the rapidity of lightning in pursuit of the drowning man, eagerly seizing every hint and sign from the ship as to the direction they were to take. They got up with him just in time and brought him safe on board. Ten minutes after they were at their ordinary work, looking as dull, awkward, and indifferent as possible, nor could you tell from their demeanour that any thing extraordinary had happened. It is this lying by for action that is the *forte* of the English character.

Buonaparte labours hard, probably from jealousy of the English, probably from professional prejudice, to shew the inferiority of the naval to the land-service. His reasoning is acute, but seems like *ex-parte* evidence. Lord Nelson could probably have given reasons in favour of the navy with equal plausibility. Such reasonings are seldom satisfactory, when one can tell beforehand the side the arguer will take. Buonaparte however assigns three grounds of his determination on this point: 1st, the equality of the surface at sea, and that you always see your enemy; 2d, that much more depends on the captains of the different ships and the courage of the individual crews; 3d, the difficulty of provisioning a large army by land, whereas the naval commander carries his own stores, camp, and citadel with him. The two last may be true; but with respect to the first, the greater inequality and accidents of the ground by land, is not that balanced by the uncertainty of the winds and waves at sea and the necessity of managing these? Out of the three great actions which Lord Nelson fought, two were fought close on land, and he had to provide for risks of running ashore, for passing over the bar of a harbour, and a number of other collateral circumstances. Buonaparte says the naval commander requires but one science, that of navigation, which is certainly a thing of experience and routine; and

brings as a proof of the little genius that this species of warfare exacts, that Alexander and Condé could not have fought battles at sea as they did by land, when they were only two-and-twenty. But this only seems to infer that naval tactics require more knowledge and science, not that they give less scope for genius and tact. People may be supposed to have a natural turn for war by land, because it is natural to live on land and not at sea; so that these are the first observations we make, the first language we learn. That another science besides that of navigation is necessary to the naval commander is evident from the conduct of the French Admiral in this engagement, namely, common sense.

The crews of the three French ships which grounded at the end of the engagement, and those of the two frigates, landed on the beach at Aboukir. A hundred men escaped from the Orient, and a great number of men from the other ships took refuge on shore, availing themselves of the confusion and distress. The army thus obtained 3500 recruits, out of which a nautical legion was formed. The French had still several frigates and lighter vessels in the port of Alexandria. A few days after the battle, Nelson set sail and quitted the shores of Alexandria, leaving two ships of war to blockade the port. He was received in triumph and with every mark of honour at Naples. The

loss of the battle of Aboukir in the end proved fatal to the expedition into Egypt: first, by depriving the army of their battering train, the want of which stopped them at St. Jean d'Acre, and secondly, by giving the Divan courage to declare war against France. The French General-in-Chief was before this event sanguine with respect to success, and sometimes talked jocularly of returning home by way of Constantinople.—Buonaparte considers a fleet of thirty sail of the line as equal to an army of 120,000 men, taking one thing with another; and he conceives that France might maintain an establishment of three such fleets as well as three armies of 120,000 men each.

Two letters written by him on this occasion deserve to be inserted here, the one as shewing his humanity, the other his national spirit, and both his indefatigable activity of mind.

Buonaparte's Letter to the Widow of Admiral Brueys.

"Cairo, 19th of August, 1798.

"Your husband has been killed by a cannon-shot, while fighting on his deck. He died without pain, and by the best death, and that which is thought by soldiers most enviable.

"I am keenly sensible to your grief. The moment which severs us from the object we love is terrible: it insulates us from all the earth; it

inflicts on the body the agonies of death; the faculties of the soul are annihilated, and its relation with the universe subsists only through the medium of a horrible dream which distorts every thing. Mankind appear colder and more selfish than they really are. In this situation we feel that if nothing obliged us to live, it would be much best to die: but when after this first thought we press our children to our hearts, tears and tender emotions revive the sentiments of our nature, and we live for our children. Yes, madam, see in this very moment how they open your heart to melancholy; you will weep with them, you will bring them up from infancy—you will talk to them of their father, of your sorrow, of the loss which you and the Republic have sustained. After having once more attached your mind to the world by the ties of filial and maternal love, set some value on the friendship and lively regard I shall always feel for the wife of my friend. Believe that there are those who deserve to be the hope of the afflicted, because they understand the poignancy of mental sufferings."

From General Buonaparte to General Kleber.

"Cairo, 10th of September, 1798.

"A ship like the Franklin, General, which had the Admiral on board, the Orient having blown up, ought not to have surrendered at eleven o'clock.

I think, moreover, that the officer who surrendered this ship is extremely culpable, because it is proved by his own *procès-verbal* that he took no measures to wreck his ship and render it impossible to bring it to: this will be an eternal disgrace to the French navy. It is not necessary to know much of manœuvres or to possess extraordinary talents, to cut a cable and run a ship aground; besides, these measures are especially prescribed in the instructions and ordinances given to captains in the navy. As for the conduct of Rear-Admiral Duchaila, it would have becomehim to have died on his quarter-deck, like Du Petit-Thouars.

"But what deprives him of every chance of restoration to my esteem, is his base conduct among the English since he has been a prisoner. There are men who have no blood in their veins. He will hear the English, then, drink to the disgrace of the French navy, while they intoxicate themselves with punch. He is willing to be landed at Naples, then, as a trophy for the Lazzaroni to gaze at; it would have been much better for him to have remained at Alexandria, or on board-ship, as a prisoner of war, without ever wishing or asking for any favour. When O'Hara, who nevertheless was a very common character, was made prisoner at Toulon, and was asked by me on the part of General Dugommier, what he wished for, he answered, '*To be alone, and not to be indebted*

to pity.' Attentions and courtesy are honourable only to the victor; they do no credit to the vanquished, whom reserve and haughtiness best become."

Buonaparte also at the same time addressed a short and affecting letter to the father of Vice-Admiral Thevenard, who was killed in the battle.

CHAPTER XIX.

SITUATION OF EGYPT.

A FEW days after his entrance into Cairo, Buonaparte ordered Reynier's division to proceed to Elkhankah, where General Leclerc's cavalry were fighting with a multitude of Arabs and peasants of the country, whom Ibrahim-Bey had prevailed upon to revolt. About fifty peasants and some Arabs were killed in these skirmishes. The General-in-Chief followed with the divisions of General Lannes and Dugua, and the troops proceeded by long marches on Syria, constantly driving Ibrahim-Bey and all the forces he commanded before them.

On the road to Belbeis, they delivered part of the caravan of Mecca, which the Arabs had carried off and were conveying into the Desert, into which they had already advanced two leagues. It was conducted to Cairo under a good escort. At Koureyn they found another part of the caravan, composed of merchants, who had been first stopped by Ibrahim-Bey, and after being released by him were plundered by the Arabs. The booty seized by them must have been considerable; one mer-

chant alone having lost goods to the amount of 200,000 crowns. This merchant had all his women with him, according to the custom of the country. The General-in-Chief ordered a supper for them, and procured them camels for their journey to Cairo. Several of the females appeared to possess handsome figures; but their faces were covered, a custom to which the soldiers were not easily reconciled. Salahieh is the last inhabited place in Egypt where good water is to be found. The Desert dividing Syria from Egypt begins there. Ibrahim-Bey, with his army, treasure, and women, had just set out from this place as the French entered it. Buonaparte pursued him with the little cavalry he had. A party of 150 Arabs who had been with the Bey, offered to charge with the French and share the booty. Night was coming on; the horses were excessively fatigued, the infantry at a good distance behind; under all these disadvantages, however, the attack was made, which the Mamelukes sustained with the greatest courage. The chief of squadron D'Estrée was mortally wounded. Almost every staff-officer and every hussar was engaged in single combat. Colonel Lasalle dropped his sabre in the midst of the charge; he was expert and fortunate enough to recover it, and remount in time to defend himself against one of the most intrepid of the Mamelukes. Murat, Duroc, Leturcq, Colbert, and Arrighi were all engaged in the thickest of

the battle, and were hurried by their impetuosity into imminent danger. The French took two pieces of cannon and fifty camels, loaded with tents and other booty. Ibrahim-Bey, who was wounded in the action, pursued his way across the Desert. Buonaparte left General Reynier's division and the engineer officers at Salahieh to construct a fort; and set out on his return to Cairo. He had not gone above two leagues from Salahieh, when he was met by General Kleber's aide-de-camp bringing intelligence of the loss of the battle in Aboukir roads. The messenger had been eleven days on his journey; and this was the first news Buonaparte received of that event, which gave a severe blow to his hopes of success. However he repaired to Cairo, where he remained for a considerable time, endeavouring to make the most of the means that were left to him. His activity appears to have been always the same, neither relaxed by good fortune nor discouraged by failure; and indeed he seems to have had no sort of objection to attempt the reconciling of contradictions and tampering with hopeless materials, their very impracticability irritating his self-will and giving scope to his ingenuity and a number of expedients. To contrive and to will were the first necessities of his soul; to succeed, unless by extraordinary and arduous means, was only the second.

A great deal of what he did (though probably

all that he could do in the actual circumstances) may be accounted for on this principle of wilfulness and contradiction. There is no end of the art and energy employed, and the only fault to be found is that they are thrown away upon objects on which they can produce no corresponding effect, or resemble the ingenious manœuvres of a masterly chess-player to win a game that is irrecoverably lost. He goes over the ground again, long after the event, with the same precaution and pertinacity as ever, shewing that in spite of appearances the whole might have succeeded in the end, if some new disaster had not happened; though where so many *ifs* concur to the execution of a measure, they necessarily put a decided negative upon its ultimate success. Thus he seems to have written those studied letters to Achmet Pacha to persuade him he did not come into his country as an enemy, for no other reason than that these fine assurances would not be believed. He proportioned his own subtlety and craftiness of address to the duplicity and hollowness of those with whom he had to deal, encountering the wily Arab, the selfish Turk at their own weapons, and sure of being foiled. He sent a flag of truce to summon the governor of a fort, and because his head was struck off, he sent another, who was treated in the same barbarous manner. He did wisely in attacking the Mamelukes, who were the military power, and in paying court

to the Scheiks, who were the civil power: but whatever might be the differences or jealousies between the latter and the former, would they not join together on the first opportunity to expel and revenge themselves on their Christian and European invaders, whom they regarded as dogs in both these capacities? What faith could he have in the Arabs as auxiliaries, whose very aspect is a dusky lie, and who would make use of their temporary submission only to take a long and lasting revenge? It would be no more possible to have any hold on their fierce cunning than to tame the wind — to expect to reap thanks or fidelity for favours conferred would be sowing benefits in the sand. No advantages held out to them or made good could ever counterbalance the difference of colour, dress, manners, religion, nature, and origin. To conquer them would require either immense multitudes or a great length of time; to subdue them by art would require a new system of laws, of manners, of religion, appealing still more strongly to their passions and the infirmities of their nature than the old one, for nothing is a match for long-established prejudice but fanaticism. Novelty alone propagates opinions, as antiquity confirms them. Nothing old can ever be revived; for if it had not been unsuited to the circumstances of the people, it would have been still in existence. The Jewish religion rose and

sustained itself by an effort and in opposition to all its neighbours. The Christian religion had been tried and was supplanted by Mahometanism. Its mild genius did not accord with the fierceness of the East. The end and aim of the Christian dispensation is good, that of the Oriental despotisms is power. The spirit of Christianity is sympathy; that of the East exclusive selfishness. The answer to the question "Who is thy neighbour?" in the Gospel, is he whom you can serve—in other codes, it is he who can be of service to you. When Buonaparte was enraged at a troop of Arabs who had attacked a village in the neighbourhood of Cairo and murdered one of the fellahs or peasants, a Scheik asked him with a smile, "Was this fellah thy cousin, that his death should so affect thee?" The good or evil, the right or wrong, the claims, the feelings or wishes of others are laid out of the question, and nothing is considered as valid, but the power to inflict mischief or its being in some way brought home to yourself. The heart has no place in such a system, where the only object or understood principle is to acquire power and property over others, and to treat them according to your will or caprice (as mere property) without considering their welfare or sufferings, their life or death, as of the smallest moment, and where you are regarded in the same light by others, from the lowest to the highest link in the chain of

authority. Hence slavery prevails all over the East; but Christianity or humanity alike repudiates this idea, which is that of a fellow-creature who is placed on the level of a beast of burthen or of an inanimate machine. Hence polygamy, which is making a property of the affections and rejecting an equal right in them. Hence a difference in another particular, namely, that love with us implies not only an object, but one that can return the attachment, and where the pleasure is equal and mutual; there it seems to imply an object, an appetite merely, but to exclude the idea of reciprocity, or treat it with indifference. To this perversity also the condition of slavery palpably contributes; for where a despotic power is claimed, where nothing is left to the choice or inclination, the gratification of another becomes a secondary consideration; and the conquest of the heart not being at all taken into the account, the will creates itself a difficulty and an incentive by a triumph over nature. Buonaparte, in alluding to the speedy decay and degeneracy of the Mameluke races in Egypt, attributes it to a depravity of manners; and on reasoning upon this subject, does not reason well. He speaks as if all the women in Egypt were old and fat, and the French women alone were light, captivating, and graceful. This is complimenting the French women at the expence of the sex. Besides, if Lady Wortley Montague speaks truth, the women

at Constantinople are as handsome as those of Paris; and Buonaparte himself gives an account of the wife of Murad-Bey, a woman of fifty, as having all the grace, the bewitching tones, and the sweetness and elegance of manners of the most accomplished women in Europe. Nor is external beauty alone, according to our ideas, the proper object of love. A statue of a beautiful woman is an object of admiration, but not of love, because though the pleasure to the eye may be the same, it is itself devoid of feeling.—The reasoning on polygamy is also ingenious, but far-fetched. Buonaparte tries to account for the prevalence of polygamy in the East from the difference of colour in the inhabitants and the desire to overcome the antipathy arising from this circumstance by amalgamating them all in the same family. But there is no natural diversity of colour in Asia more than in Europe or Africa. In Asia women are tawny, as in Europe they are white, and in Africa jet-black. If these colours meet more commonly in Asia than in Europe, it is from the practice of sending women from other countries thither as to a mart; which custom itself arises from the practice of polygamy or the purchase and sale of beauty like any other commodity, and is not the cause of it. Polygamy is common in Africa, where there is no mixture of colours. It is the attendant not of a mixture of colours, but of slavery. It is the fault

of Buonaparte's reasoning, that he attributes too much in human affairs to political and final causes, and hardly enough to natural and moral ones.

These violent differences of character and customs, and, as it might seem, even of nature, were sufficient to prevent the French from making a very strong moral impression on the inhabitants of Egypt; and as to physical force, they had not enough to keep the population down with a strong hand. To retain possession of Egypt, considered merely as a factory or fort on the sea-coast, it would be necessary to command the sea; considered as a kingdom rich in independent resources, it has the back-ground of the Desert, in whose pathless extent and arid sands an army would be lost in attempting to baffle and scatter the barbarians of a thousand cities, of a thousand wilds. The people were too much inured to a different and uniform way of life, either to have occasion for or to set much store by our refinements and comforts, which were neither adapted to their situation nor habits. When Napoleon one day asked the Scheik El-Mondi what was the most useful thing he had taught him in the six months he had been among them—"The most useful thing you have taught me," replied the Scheik, half in jest and half in earnest, "is to drink at my meals!" The Arabs had too little knowledge to be either curious about objects of science or to take any interest

in mechanical improvements. They looked upon the scientific men meeting in parties or working in their laboratories, at first as priests and afterwards as alchymists; nor could they understand the interest the French appeared to take in the Pyramids, except by supposing that these Europeans had some tradition of their having been built by their remote ancestors. The only valuable result of the expedition is the famous work on Egypt got up by these learned men, and published at an immense expence during the first fifteen years of this century. The benefits of science are too remote, too evanescent and too refined to strike a rude and savage people who have most need of them. Again, the deference paid by the General-in-Chief to the manners and customs of the people, his joining in celebrating their feasts, and the respect he expressed for their Prophet, were all well-judged, and excellently adapted to conciliate the good-will of the natives, and prevent their unavoidable repugnance from breaking out into open hostility; but they were only temporary expedients and palliatives, which required other resources and stronger measures in reserve. To have overcome so many obstacles and given a popular impulse in his favour, it was necessary to depart from the common course of things and strike the ignorant with wonder and delight—he should have opened the canal of Suez (as was talked of) or by a new mode

of irrigation, have doubled the fertility of the Nile and the population of Egypt, or preached a new religion, or rebuilt Palmyra, or allowed the use of wine, or worked miracles, or seemed to work them; but all this would have required time, another age, and faith and fortune led captive to accomplish it. The English and Portuguese occupied only ports on the sea-coast in India; and having the seas to themselves, had only the natives to contend with, their power eating gradually into the interior like a cancer. After the Portuguese found out the passage by the Cape of Good Hope, the Venetians lost the commerce of the East, which they had carried on by way of Egypt. Even supposing the French to have established themselves in Egypt, does not this fact shew that the great traffic would still have been carried on by the old road of the Atlantic and Pacific Ocean, or remained in the hands of the great maritime powers?

Egypt borders on the Nile, and occupies an extent of a hundred and fifty leagues in length, from Elephantina to Cairo, and five in breadth, after which the Nile divides into two branches, and forms the Delta. The valley of the Nile is about equal in surface to a sixth part of ancient France, but it is far more fertile, and is like one continued garden, there being neither rock, mountain, nor waste in it. It never rains in Egypt; the fertility

of the country depends entirely on the overflowing of the Nile, which brings a kind of rich loam or slime with it from the mountains of Abyssinia, where it takes its rise, and the year is more or less abundant in proportion as it rises higher or lower. By means of a canal to draw the waters of the Nile into the Great Oasis, a vast kingdom was acquired. The country is remarkably healthy; the nights are cool; a burning sun, never tempered by clouds, scorches up the vapours arising from the low grounds and marshes, and renders them innoxious. The population of Egypt formerly, in the time of Sesostris and the Ptolemies, and afterwards at the period when it was conquered by the Arabs in the seventh century, was supposed to amount to fifteen or twenty millions. At present, it amounts to between two and three millions; and in half a century will not amount, in all probability, to more than a million and a half, if the present system of administration continues so long. Yet it is said by some persons that the earth is always as full as it can hold, and that government can have no influence in this respect! Egypt was anciently the great mart and thoroughfare of the commerce of the East. This was carried on by way of the Red Sea, and the goods of India were thence transported to Thebes on the banks of the Nile, by the canal of Suez, or conveyed on the backs of camels eighty leagues across the Desert. Alex-

andria, built by Alexander the Great, was the chief seat and emporium of all this wealth flowing in from both worlds. It was the second city in the Roman empire. It is the only convenient or safe harbour on a coast of fifteen hundred miles, reaching from Tunis, the ancient Carthage, to Alexandretta in Syria. It is situated on one of the ancient mouths of the Nile; but at present the dilapidation and neglect of the canals of the Nile prevent its waters from reaching Alexandria, except at the height of the inundation, when they are collected and preserved in large cisterns, which have a striking appearance. The walls of Alexandria were formerly twelve miles round; it contained 4000 palaces, 4000 baths, 400 theatres, 12,000 shops, and above 50,000 Jews. The Arabs lost 28,000 men in taking it (in the first year of the Hegira). Here is the tomb of Alexander, in searching which the French antiquaries found an elegant little statue in *terra-cotta*, ten or twelve inches in height, dressed after the Greek fashion: near the city were Pompey's Pillar and Cleopatra's famous Needles. The architecture of the Egyptian cities resembles the Asiatic more than the European; and their gardens are full of trees and fountains, but not laid out in any order.

Egypt produces abundance of wheat, rice, and pulse. It was the granary of old Rome, as it is at present that of Constantinople. It also produces

sugar, indigo, senna, cassia, nitre, flax and hemp; but it has neither wood, coal, nor oil. It procures tobacco from Syria, and coffee from Arabia. It feeds numerous flocks, independently of those of the Desert, and a multitude of poultry. The chickens are hatched in ovens, which is an immemorial custom. This country serves as an intermediate link or resting-place between Africa and Asia. The caravans arrive at Cairo like ships on a coast, at the moment when they are least expected, and from the most remote quarters. Signals of their arrival are made at Gizeh, and they approach by the Pyramids. At that spot they are informed at what place they are to cross the Nile, and where they are to encamp near Cairo. The caravans thus announced are those of pilgrims or traders from Morocco, Fez, Tunis, Algiers, or Tripoli, going to Mecca and bringing goods to barter at Cairo. They are usually composed of several hundred camels, sometimes even of thousands, and escorted by troops of armed men. Caravans also come from Abyssinia, from the interior of Africa, from Tagoast, and from places in direct communication with the Cape of Good Hope and Senegal. They bring slaves, gum, gold-dust, elephants' teeth, beautiful negresses from Darfour, and in general all the produce of those countries, which they exchange for the merchandise of Europe and of the Levant. The French, English, or any other nation

established in Egypt, would soon have to supply the wants of the inhabitants of the Deserts of Africa, Abyssinia, Arabia, and a great part of Syria, and in return might obtain from Egypt wheat, rice, sugar, nitre, and all the productions of Africa and Asia.

There is neither coach nor cart in Egypt. The facility of water-carriage supersedes the use of them; and the camel is used to cross the Desert and as the ordinary beast of burthen. The horses are the finest in the world. Buonaparte's coachman, Cæsar, astonished the natives by his dexterity in driving his carriage with six fine horses through the narrow streets of Cairo and Boulac. He himself speaks of this circumstance with no small complacency. Even the greatest minds are not unwilling to derive admiration from accident and at a little expence of exertion. Lord Byron endeavoured to make the Italians stare by galloping through the streets of Venice on the only *live* horse ever seen there.

A spring of water, a patch of verdure, a tent, his camels, his horse, and a herd of cattle, are all that the Arab possesses. Water is the first of necessities in the Desert, and indeed throughout the East; and the Prophet has in a manner placed this element under the peculiar protection of religion. To dig a canal or a well, or to erect a fountain, are considered as works not only of great merit, but as

acts of piety. Let us not run away with an idea that all is wrong, because it is barbarous or unlike ourselves. There is a limit which neither good nor evil can pass; the excess of every thing produces its contrary. Slavery in the East, by being absolute and universal, has its necessary, practical alleviations; otherwise it could not be borne. Slaves are admitted as a part of the family, marry their masters, or rise to the highest offices in the State; for where all are slaves, all are equal. Cruelty and distress naturally produce humanity and compassion, as hospitality is the child of the Desert. Charity and alms are recommended in every part of the Koran, as the means of being most acceptable to God and the Prophet. Charity is so far the offspring of the parsimony of nature and the ravages of power. At the appointed hour the Mussulmans say their prayers, wherever they may happen to be, or whatever business they are engaged in; the slaves spread the carpets before them, and they kneel with their faces towards the East. At the feast of Ramadan (says Voltaire) the Mahomedans sing and pray five times a day, and then fall to cutting each other's throats with the greatest good-will imaginable. Nor let this be imputed as a slur upon religion, but as a redeeming trait in human nature, of which it stands in need. Instead of shewing the fallacy and nullity of the *ideal* principle, it shews its universality and indestructible character. Man can

no more divest himself entirely of the etherial particle, the *divinæ particula auræ*, than of the grossness of his nature, however one or the other may predominate. The Moor or wild Arab who laughs at human ties, who is the slave of headstrong passions or of sordid interest, is still tamed by certain talismanic words written in his sacred books; eyes the golden chain let down from Paradise to him with wonder and delight; is dangled in this film, this cobweb of his brain like a puppet; and his savage and mere animal nature is cowed and subjected by his higher imaginative and abstracted nature, just as he himself curbs and bends the camel or the wild ass of the Desert to his purposes!

The General-in-Chief went to celebrate the feast of the Prophet at the house of the Scheik El-Bekir. The ceremony was begun by the recital of a kind of litany, containing the life of Mahomet from his birth to his death. About a hundred Scheiks sitting in a circle, on carpets, with their legs crossed, recited all the verses, swinging their bodies violently backwards and forwards, and all together. A magnificent dinner was afterwards served up, at which the guests sat on carpets with their legs across. There were twenty tables, and five or six people at each table. That of the General-in-Chief and the Scheik El-Bekir was in the middle: a little slab of a precious kind of wood, ornamented with mosaic-work, was raised eighteen inches above the floor, and covered with a great number of dishes

in succession. There were pilaws of rice, a particular kind of roasted meat, *entrées*, and pastry, all very highly spiced. The Scheiks* picked every thing with their fingers; accordingly, water was brought to wash their hands three times during dinner. Gooseberry-water, lemonade, and other sorts of sherbet were served to drink, and abundance of conserves and confectionary with the dessert. The dinner was not disagreeable to the French guests; it was only the manner of eating it that seemed strange to them. In the evening, the whole city of Cairo was illuminated. After dinner the party went into the square of El-Bekir; the illumination of which, in coloured glass, was exceedingly beautiful. An immense concourse of people were present. They were all placed in order, in ranks of from twenty to a hundred persons, who, standing close together, recited the prayers and litany of the Prophet, with movements which kept increasing until at length they became quite convulsive, and some of the most zealous fainted away. In the course of the year, the General-in-Chief often accepted invitations to dinner with the Scheik Sadda, the Scheik Fayon, and others of the principal Scheiks. The days chosen were different festivals. The same magnificence prevailed at all their entertainments, which were conducted in nearly a similar manner.

* The Doctors of the Law, descended from the Arabs and the Prophet.

Buonaparte did not ever (as has been idly asserted) pretend to be a convert to the Mahometan religion; he merely avowed what he probably felt, a high opinion of its founder, and treated its ceremonies with respect and decorum. There seems however, at one time, to have been a sort of tampering on the subject, as if he had a desire to become a *catechumen;* and the points of abstinence from wine and circumcision were stated as difficulties in the way of such an arrangement, which the Scheiks however thought might be dispensed with, as not essential parts of the religion. This was not good policy; instead of deceiving these subtle and sagacious casuists, it would give them a bad opinion of the sincerity of the French Commander in other respects. To turn renegado was more than was requisite to be admitted into the country on a friendly or mercantile footing; to conquer it, it was not enough. If their religion was so excellent as to call for this mark of acquiescence, it was probable that their laws and government were not so bad as to require remodelling by the hands of strangers; and before you can pretend to overturn an empire, it is absolutely necessary to prove that you are either stronger or wiser than the conquered. Half-measures will not do for extreme cases; and where there is a total antipathy of sentiment and maxims, one party or the other must be masters. Buonaparte's soldiers, though superior to any opposed to them, were

a mere handful compared to the field over which they had to act, and must in the end have bit the dust; and their chief does not appear to have possessed any spell or talismanic power in his breast to kindle a flame through the East or tame its raging fires. His breath had not the force to stir up the sun-burnt population of Asia like a cloud of dust, and send it before him like a whirlwind; and without this, it must be blown stifling back upon himself!" So far from propagating new principles of civilisation in the East, it was his object to crush and neutralise them at home; and instead of commencing and giving full scope to a new era in society, to patch up and lengthen out the old one, which had fallen in pieces from its own imperfections and infirmity. Bacchus scattered god-like gifts and civilisation in the East, and returned from the conquest of India, drawn by panthers and followed by troops of wild men and women. Alexander overturned barbaric thrones by martial discipline, and fell a martyr to the intoxication of his own pride and passions. Buonaparte was stopped by a dismantled fort and an English cruiser; and turned back to found an empire in the West, which fell upon the founder's head because it was neither new nor old!

While the General-in-Chief merely conformed to the established worship in outward appearance and from policy, General Menou became a convert

in good earnest, turned Mahometan, and married a lady of Rosetta, whom he treated after the French modes of gallantry. He gave her his hand to enter the dining-room, the best place at table, the choicest dishes; or if she dropt her handkerchief, he ran to pick it up. She related these circumstances in the bath at Rosetta, where all the women meet; and the rest, in hopes of a change in the national manners, signed a petition to Sultan Kabir, or the Fire-King (so they called Buonaparte), that their husbands should be obliged to treat them in the same manner. A Revolution of the Harem might not have been the least feasible project thought of. The women in the East always wear a veil or a piece of cloth to hide their faces. If taken by surprise, they will make use of any other part of their dress sooner than let their faces be exposed. Marriage in general takes place without either party having seen the other; or at least without the husband having seen the wife. The dress of the Oriental people is both becoming, easy, and magnificent. Their necks and limbs are not confined by bandages or garters: a native of the East may remain a month in his clothes without feeling fatigued by them. The little hats of the French, their tight breeches, close coats, and the stocks which strangled them, were, as they well might be, objects of laughter and aversion to them. The freedom and loose-

ness of the female dress makes a greater contrast in this respect in Europe; and the use of the beard in remote climes or periods may be supposed to date the distinction of manhood more pointedly from its growth.

The plague appears first on the coast of Egypt, and occurs always in winter. When it broke out, the army adopted the precautions used at Marseilles; which were wholly unknown to the natives, but of the utility of which they became at length sensible. Egypt is in general extremely healthy, and the soldiers were chiefly incommoded by diseases of the eyes. This disorder is attributed to two causes, first the sand and dust, and secondly to the checking of the perspiration, produced by very cold nights succeeding very hot days. It is evidently owing in some way to the climate. St. Louis, on his return from the Holy Land in 1250, brought back a multitude of blind; and it was this circumstance that gave rise to the establishment of the hospital of the *Quinze Vingts* at Paris.

Egypt is divided from Syria to the east by the Great Desert, which is seventy-five leagues, or seven days' journey across.

CHAPTER XX.

THE BATTLES IN 1799 IN SYRIA.

BUONAPARTE remained during the rest of the year 1798 at Cairo, ripening his plans, and watching the progress of events. Soon after the battle of the Nile, the Porte, no longer kept in awe by the French fleet or else alarmed for its possessions in the East, declared war against France. In the beginning of 1799 the Turkish armies assembled, one at Rhodes, the other in Syria, in order to attack the French in Egypt. They were to act in concert in the month of May, the first by landing at Aboukir, the second by crossing the Desert which divides Syria from Egypt. In the beginning of January news arrived that Gezzar Pacha had been appointed Seraskier of the army of Syria; that his vanguard, under the command of Abdallah, had already arrived at El-Arisch, and was occupied in repairing the fort, which may be considered as the key of Egypt on the Syrian side. A train of artillery of forty guns, served by 1200 cannoneers in the European manner, had been landed at Jaffa; considerable magazines were

conveyed to that town, by means of vessels from Constantinople; and at Gaza stores of skins to hold water had been collected, sufficient, it was said, to enable a large army to cross the Desert.

Had the French remained stationary, they would have been attacked by both armies at once; and it was also to be apprehended that the Turks would shortly be joined by a body of European troops. Thus hemmed in, the French would have no retreat open to them by sea, as they had no fleet; and by land, the Desert of seventy-five leagues, which separates Syria from Egypt, was not passable by an European army in the height of the hot season. It was therefore the business of the French General to anticipate his enemies, to cross the Great Desert during the winter, to possess himself by a *coup-de-main* of the magazines which had been formed on the coast of Syria, and to attack, and if possible to destroy the different troops in succession as fast as they collected. In consequence of this plan, the divisions of the army of Rhodes were obliged to hasten to the relief of Syria; and Egypt not being threatened on that side remained quiet, which allowed the French to march the greater part of their troops into Syria. Had the attack on Acre succeeded, Buonaparte had it in contemplation (at least as no impossible event) to have menaced Constantinople with an army of 25,000 French, and 100,000 auxiliaries,

Arabs, Copts, the Druses of Mount Lebanon, the Christians of Syria; and after establishing an amicable understanding with the Porte, to march on the Indus, and effect the conquest of India. The object of the expedition would thus have been completely fulfilled by driving the English out of their Eastern possessions; but this splendid structure was built on the sand. Buonaparte had already tried to open a communication with Tippoo Saib, by a letter dated the 25th of January in this year; but of course the negociation never came to any thing. On the 9th of February, a little before he left Cairo, it appears by a letter to the Executive Directory, that he had celebrated the commencement of the Ramadan with the greatest pomp, and performed the same functions as were performed by the Pacha on that occasion. General Desaix was at this period in Upper Egypt fighting with Murad-Bey, 160 leagues from Cairo, near the Cataracts, where he had explored the ruins of Thebes; General Bon was at Suez. Buonaparte, in all his letters to the Directory, manifests great uneasiness at not hearing news from France, respecting which he seems to have been kept, either by design or accident, very much in the dark. A Ragusan ship which arrived at Alexandria, having on board one Citizen Hamelin with some broken files of Italian journals, gave him a new light on the subject. "*If*," he writes to the Executive

Directory, "*in the course of March, Citizen Hamelin's report should be confirmed to me, and France should be at war with the Kings, I shall return to Europe.*" He at the same time urges the necessity of reinforcements, and complains of the number of enemies he has to contend with—Deserts, inhabitants of the country, Arabs, Mamelukes, Russians, Turks, and English.

Buonaparte had addressed two letters to Gezzar Pacha in the latter end of the preceding year: the only answer he gave was in the first instance to use the messenger ill, and in the second to cut his head off. The French at Acre were seized and treated in a barbarous manner. The Pacha also issued a number of proclamations, in which he called on the people of Egypt to revolt, and announced his speedy approach. Some months after his vanguard took up a position at El-Arisch, a fort situated on the borders of the Desert, six leagues within the Egyptian territory. The French General no longer hesitated, but determined to carry the war into the enemy's country without delay. On the 4th of February General Reynier joined the vanguard under General Lagrange, stationed at Catieh, three days' journey in the Desert, where Buonaparte had ordered considerable magazines to be collected, and where General Kleber soon after arrived from Damietta. Two days after, the army set out from Catieh on its march across the

Desert to El-Arisch, during which for several days no water was to be found. The difficulties which arose on every side were borne with great patience; and the enemy was attacked and driven from the village of El-Arisch, and the whole of his vanguard shut up in the fort. In the mean time, Gezzar Pacha's cavalry, with a body of infantry, having got into the rear of the army, and taken up a position about a league off, Kleber directed General Reynier to make a sudden movement, and at midnight the enemy's camp was surrounded, attacked, and taken, with a quantity of baggage and several prisoners. It was necessary to open regular trenches before the fort; a heavy cannonade was commenced against it. On the 18th at noon, a practicable breach was made, and the Commandant was summoned to surrender, which he did. Three hundred horses, much biscuit and rice were found at El-Arisch, together with 500 Albanians, 500 Maugrabins, and 200 men from Adonia and Caramania: the Maugrabins entered into the French service, and Buonaparte made an auxiliary corps of them. On leaving El-Arisch, the vanguard lost its way in the Desert, and suffered much for want of water. The provisions failing, the troops were obliged to eat horses, mules, and camels. On the 24th they came to the pillars placed to mark the boundaries of Africa and Asia, and lay that night in Asia. The following day the army marched on

Gaza; and at ten in the morning saw 3000 or 4000 cavalry advancing towards them. Murat's cavalry having passed a number of torrents in sight of the enemy, Kleber's division and Lannes's light infantry, which supported the movement of the cavalry, charged the enemy near the height which overlooks Hebron, and where Samson carried off the gates of Gaza. The Mussulmans did not await the charge, but fell back, having some men killed, among others the Pacha's Kiaya. The 22d light infantry behaved extremely well, and followed the cavalry running, though many days had elapsed since they had made a good meal, or drank their fill of water. Gaza contained powder, military stores, shells, implements, vast supplies of biscuit, and six pieces of cannon.

The weather now became dreadful, with thunder and rain, the first the army had encountered since its leaving Europe. February 28, they slept at Eswod, the ancient Azot, and on the 29th at Rameh, which the enemy had evacuated precipitately, leaving behind him 100,000 rations of biscuit, a still greater quantity of barley, and 1500 water-skins, which Gezzar had prepared in order to pass the Desert.

Kleber's division was the first that invested Jaffa; Bon and Lannes came up afterwards. The town was defended by about forty pieces of cannon, which were unmasked from all points and kept up

a well-sustained fire. On the 6th of March, the French having fixed their batteries and mortars, the garrison made a *sortie;* a crowd of men, in various costumes and of all colours, were then seen marching out, Maugrabins, Albanians, Kurds, Natolians, Caramanians, Damascenes, natives of Aleppo, and blacks from Tekrour. They were, however, briskly repulsed, and returned with more expedition than they came. Duroc, at that time aide-de-camp to the General-in-Chief, particularly distinguished himself in this adventure. At break of day Buonaparte caused the Governor to be summoned, who had his messenger's head struck off and sent no answer. At seven o'clock the firing commenced, and in an hour Buonaparte judged the breach practicable. General Lannes made the dispositions for the assault. The Adjutant-General's assistant, Neterwood, and ten carbineers first mounted the breach, followed by three companies of grenadiers, under General Rambaud. At five the assailants were masters of the town, which was for twenty-four hours given up to pillage and all the horrors of war. Four thousand of Gezzar's soldiers were put to the sword, and a number of the inhabitants were massacred.

In the course of a few days several ships arrived from St. Jean d'Acre with military stores and provisions; they were seized in the port. Abd-Oullah, Gezzar's General, had the address to

conceal himself among the people from Egypt, and to go and throw himself at Buonaparte's feet. The latter sent to Damascus and Aleppo more than 500 persons belonging to those two cities, as well as between 400 and 500 persons into Egypt. He pardoned the Mamelukes and Kiaschefs whom he took at El-Arisch; he pardoned also Omar-Mackram, Scheik of Cairo; he was merciful towards the Egyptians as well as towards the people of Jaffa, but severe towards the garrison which suffered itself to be taken with arms in its hands. The French found at Jaffa fifty pieces of cannon, thirty of which were of European make, besides immense stores of provisions. The siege was conducted by Caffarelli, who afterwards fell at Acre: Colonel Lejeune, who was killed in mounting the breach, was deeply regretted by his corps and by the army.

It was from Jaffa that Buonaparte dated two of his most famous letters, the one addressed to the inhabitants of Palestine, the other to Gezzar Pacha; which deserve insertion here, as specimens of his manner of adopting the energetic and imposing style of Eastern composition. They are as follows:—

General Buonaparte to the Scheiks, Ulemas, and other Inhabitants of the Provinces of Gaza, Ramleh, and Jaffa.

"Jaffa, 19th Ventose, year VII.
March 9, 1799.

"God is forgiving and merciful!

"I write the present letter to inform you that I am come into Palestine to drive out the Mamelukes and the army of Gezzar Pacha.

"By what right has Gezzar extended his inroads into the provinces of Jaffa, Ramleh, and Gaza, which are no part of his Pachaship? Or by what right did he send his troops to El-Arisch? He has provoked me to war; I have brought it to him: but it is not on you, inhabitants, that I intend to inflict its horrors.

"Remain quiet in your homes; let those who have quitted them through fear return to them; I will grant to every one the property he possesses.

"It is my intention that the Cadis shall continue their functions as usual, and dispense justice: that religion, in particular, shall be protected and revered; and that the mosques shall be frequented by all good Mussulmans; it is from God that all good things come; it is he who gives the victory.

"It is proper that you should know that all human efforts are useless against me; for all that I undertake is destined to succeed. Those who

declare themselves my friends, prosper; those who declare themselves my enemies, perish. The example of what has just occurred at Jaffa and Gaza, ought to teach you that if I am terrible to my enemies, I am kind to my friends, and, above all, benevolent and merciful to the poor.

(Signed) BUONAPARTE."

The letter to Gezzar Pacha bears the same date, and runs thus:—

"Since my entrance into Egypt I have several times informed you that it was not my intention to make war upon you, but that my only object was to drive out the Mamelukes: you have not answered any of the proposals I have made to you.

"I apprised you that I wished you to remove Ibrahim-Bey from the frontiers of Egypt; but far from doing so, you have sent troops to Gaza, collected great magazines, published on all sides that you were about to enter Egypt; and at length carried this invasion into effect by sending 2000 of your men to the fort of El-Arisch, six leagues within the territory of Egypt. It then became incumbent on me to set out from Cairo, and bring home to you the war which you seem to provoke.

"The provinces of Gaza, Ramleh, and Jaffa are

in my power. I have treated those of your troops who placed themselves at my mercy with generosity: I have treated those who had violated the laws of war with severity. I shall march in a few days on St. Jean d'Acre. But why should I deprive an old man whom I do not know of a few years of life? What signify a few leagues more by the side of the countries I have conquered? And since God gives me the victory, I will, like him, be forgiving and merciful, not only towards the people, but towards the great also.

"You have no real reason to be my enemy, for you were the foe of the Mamelukes. Your Pachaship is separated from Egypt by the provinces of Gaza and Ramleh, and by immense deserts. Become my friend once more, be the enemy of the Mamelukes and English, and I will do you as much good as I have done and can do you harm. Send me your answer by a man furnished with full powers and acquainted with your intentions. Let him present himself to my vanguard with a white flag: I give an order to my staff to send you a safe conduct, which you will find annexed.

"On the 24th of this month I shall march against St. Jean d'Acre; I must therefore have your answer before that day.

(Signed) BUONAPARTE."

With the name of Jaffa are connected two of the ugliest charges ever brought against Buonaparte, those of massacring the Turkish prisoners and poisoning his own troops in the hospital there; which were for a long time repeated with no less confidence than success, and which have since been proved, and indeed acknowledged by the persons chiefly concerned in propagating them, to be as groundless as they were odious. The truth with respect to each of them appears to have been this, which cannot be given better than in his own words:

"I asked the Emperor then if he had ever read Miot's History of the Expedition to Egypt? 'What, the Commissary?' he replied; 'I believe Las Cases gave me a copy; moreover, it was published in my time.' He then desired me to bring the one which I had, that he might compare them. He observed, 'Miot was a *polisson*, whom, together with his brother, I raised from the dirt. He says that I threatened him for writing the book, which is a falsehood. I said to his brother once that he might as well not have published untruths. He was a man who had always fear before his eyes. What does he say about the poisoning affair and the shooting at Jaffa?' I replied, that as to the poisoning, Miot declared he could say no more than that such had been the current report; but that he positively asserted that he (Napoleon) had caused between three and four thousand Turks to

be shot some days after the capture of Jaffa. Napoleon answered, 'It is not true that there were so many. I ordered about a thousand or twelve hundred to be shot, which was done. The reason was, that amongst the garrison of Jaffa a number of Turkish troops were discovered whom I had taken a short time before at El-Arisch, and sent to Bagdat upon their parole not to serve again or to be found in arms against me for a year. I had caused them to be escorted twelve leagues on their way to Bagdat by a division of my army. But those Turks, instead of proceeding to Bagdat, threw themselves into Jaffa, defended it to the last, and cost me a number of brave men to take it, whose lives would have been spared, if the others had not reinforced the garrison of Jaffa. Moreover, before I attacked the town, I sent them a flag of truce. Immediately afterwards we saw the head of the bearer elevated on a pole over the wall. Now if I had spared them again, and sent them away upon their parole, they would directly have gone to St. Jean d'Acre, where they would have played me over again the same trick that they had done at Jaffa. In justice to the lives of my soldiers, as every general ought to consider himself as their father and them as his children, I could not allow this. To leave as a guard a portion of my army, already small and reduced in number in consequence of the breach of faith of

those wretches was impossible. Indeed, to have acted otherwise than I did, would probably have caused the destruction of my whole army. I therefore, availing myself of the rights of war, which authorise putting to death prisoners taken under such circumstances, independent of the right given to me by having taken the city by assault, and that of retaliation on the Turks for having slaughtered my messenger, ordered that the prisoners taken at El-Arisch, who in defiance of their capitulation had been found bearing arms against me, should be singled out and shot. The rest, amounting to a considerable number, were spared. I would,' continued he, 'do the same thing again to-morrow, and so would any General commanding an army under similar circumstances.'

"'Previous to leaving Jaffa,' continued Napoleon, 'and after the greatest number of the sick and wounded had been embarked, it was reported to me that there were some men in the hospital so dangerously ill as not to allow of their being removed. I immediately ordered the chiefs of the medical staff to consult together on what was best to be done, and to deliver their opinion on the subject. Accordingly they met, and found that there were seven or eight men so dangerously ill, that they conceived it impossible for them to recover; and also that they could not exist twenty-four or thirty-six hours longer; that moreover,

being afflicted with the plague, they would spread that disease amongst all those who approached them. Some of them, who were sensible, perceiving that they were about to be abandoned, demanded with earnest intreaties to be put to death. Larrey was of opinion that recovery was impossible, and that these poor fellows could not exist many hours; but as they might linger long enough to be alive when the Turks entered, and be subjected to the dreadful tortures which they were accustomed to inflict upon their prisoners, he thought it would be an act of charity to comply with their desires and accelerate their end by a few hours. Desgenettes did not approve of this, and replied that his profession was to cure the sick and not to dispatch them. Larrey came to me immediately afterwards, informed me of the circumstances and of what Desgenettes had said, adding that perhaps Desgenettes was right. But, proceeded Larrey, those men cannot live for more than a few hours, twenty-four or thirty-six at most, and if you will leave a rearguard of cavalry to stay and protect them from advanced parties, that will be sufficient. Accordingly I ordered four or five hundred cavalry to remain behind, and not to quit the place until all were dead. They did remain, and informed me that all had expired before they left the town; but I have heard since, that Sidney Smith found one or two alive when he

entered it. This is the truth of the business. Wilson himself, I dare say, knows now that he was mistaken. Sir Sidney Smith never asserted any thing of the kind. I have no doubt that this story of the poisoning originated in something said by Desgenettes, who was a *bavard*, which was afterwards misconceived or incorrectly repeated. Desgenettes was, however, a good man, and notwithstanding his having given rise to this story, I was not offended, and had him near my person in different campaigns afterwards. Not that I think it would have been a crime, had opium been administered; on the contrary I think it would have been a virtue. To leave a few unfortunate beings who could not recover, in order that they might be massacred by the Turks with the most dreadful torments, as was their custom, would, I think, have been cruelty. A General ought to act with his soldiers as he would wish should be done to himself. Now, would not any man under similar circumstances, who retained his senses, have preferred dying easily a few hours sooner, rather than expire under the tortures of those barbarians? You have been amongst the Turks and know what they are; I ask you now to place yourself in the situation of one of those sick men, and that you were asked which you would prefer; to be left to suffer the tortures of those miscreants, or to have opium administered to you?' I replied, most undoubtedly

I should prefer the latter. 'Certainly, so would any man,' answered Napoleon; 'if my own son (and I believe I love my son as well as any father does his child) were in a similar situation with those men, I would advise it to be done; and if so situated myself, I would insist upon it, if I had sense enough and strength enough left to demand it. But, however, affairs were not so pressing as to prevent my leaving a party to take care of them, which was done. If I had thought such a measure as that of giving opium unavoidable, I should have called a council of war, have stated the necessity of it, and have published it in the order of the day. It should have been no secret. Do you think that if I had been capable of secretly poisoning my soldiers (as doing a necessary action secretly would give it the appearance of a crime), or of such barbarities as driving my carriage over the dead or the still bleeding bodies of the wounded, that my troops would have fought for me with an enthusiasm and an affection without a parallel? No, no. I never should have done so a second time. They would have shot me in passing. Even some of the wounded, who had sufficient strength left to pull a trigger, would have dispatched me.'"

Such is the account given by O'Meara of Buonaparte's conversation with him on this subject, which, independently of other proof, carries its own evidence with it. Yet this was one of those

charges which, insisted upon for a number of years with every circumstance of aggravation, gangrened the public mind and swelled the war-whoop against him, whenever a plea was wanted. In proportion to the odiousness of the imputation was the natural horror it excited, and the firm conviction entertained of the truth of this phantom of a heated imagination. The English are too ready to give ear to charges against their enemies; and from this weakness in their character, every adventurer who can bring an idle tale against a formidable opponent or with the aid of half-a-dozen venal scribblers stigmatize him with an opprobrious nickname, can inflame the national hostility and prejudices to a state bordering on madness, and wield the power of ten or twelve millions of people to any purpose, either of right or wrong, that the Government pleases. This is a dangerous engine; and the handle that has been made of it in this instance among others should shame us out of the use of it. Napoleon attributes to the great Lord Chatham a saying on this subject, that "if the Government were to deal fairly or justly with France, England would not exist for four-and-twenty hours." It looks as if this sentiment were not peculiar to him; but it has been acted upon with tenfold virulence and still more pernicious effect in our time.

His real behaviour to the sick at Jaffa, and the

imminent peril to which he exposed himself to calm the fears of the army at the infection which broke out among them, form a striking contrast to the foregoing calumny. The soldiers in the pillage of the place having plundered the houses of a number of articles of Turkish dress which were infected, this produced the plague among them. The following day the General-in-Chief gave orders that every soldier should bring his booty into the square, when all the articles of wearing apparel were burnt. But the disease had been already communicated. He caused the sick to be immediately conveyed to the hospitals, where those infected with the plague were carefully separated from the rest. For a short time he succeeded in persuading the troops that it was only a fever with swellings, and not the plague; and in order to convince them of it, he went publicly to the bedside of a soldier who was infected, and touched him. This had a great effect in encouraging the men; and even some of the surgeons, who had abandoned them, became ashamed and returned to their duties.

CHAPTER XXI.

ST. JEAN D'ACRE AND ALEXANDRIA.

JAFFA is situated between Gaza and St. Jean d'Acre, the road to which runs nearly along the sea-shore, close by Mount Carmel, on the top of which there is a convent and fountain, and a rock with the print of a man's foot, which tradition gives out to have been left by Elijah when he ascended to heaven. The heights of Richard Cœur-de-Lion are about half a mile from it.

The siege of St. Jean d'Acre began on the 20th of March; and from this period till the 1st of April the battering-train consisted of one thirty-two-pounder carronade, which Major Lambert had taken at Caiffa by seizing the long-boat of the Tyger by main force; but it was not possible to make use of it with the carriage belonging to the boat, and besides, there were no cannon-balls. These difficulties speedily vanished. In twenty-four hours the park of artillery constructed a carriage. As for balls, Sir Sidney Smith took upon himself to provide them. A few horsemen or waggons made their appearance from time to

time; upon which the English Commodore * approached, and poured in an alternate fire from all his tiers; and the soldiers, to whom the director of the park paid five *sous* for every ball, immediately ran to pick them up. They were so much accustomed to this manœuvre that they would go and fetch them in the midst of the cannonade and of the shouts of laughter it occasioned. Sometimes the construction of a battery was pretended to be begun. Thus the besiegers obtained twelve and thirty-two pounder balls. They had powder, which had been brought from Cairo, and more had been found at Jaffa and Gaza. The total of their means in the way of artillery amounted only to four twelve-pounders, provided with two hundred rounds each, eight howitzers, a thirty-two-pounder carronade, and thirty four-pounders. The engineer, General Samson, being ordered to reconnoitre the town, reported incorrectly that there was neither counterscarp nor ditch, from having in the night reached a wall, which he had mistaken for the rampart. A breach was made in this wall, and fifteen sappers and twenty-five grenadiers, with Adjutant-General Laugier at their head, were ordered to clear it, but on coming out on the other side, were stopped short by a counterscarp of fifteen feet and a ditch several yards in width. Five

* Sir Sidney Smith was cruising off Acre with the English fleet, and often entered the town.

or six of the assailants were wounded, and the rest, pursued by a dreadful fire of musquetry, regained the trench precipitately. A miner was immediately set to work to blow up the counterscarp. In three days the mine was got ready, under the fire of the ramparts and of a great quantity of mortars, directed by excellent gunners furnished by the English ships, which scattered shells in all directions. The eight-inch mortars and fine pieces which the English had taken at Aboukir, now strengthened the defence of the place. On the 28th the mine was sprung, but only overthrew half of the counterscarp. The staff-officer Mailly was, however, sent forward with twenty-five grenadiers and six sappers, and Laugier with two battalions hastened to support the attack; but the latter, on reaching the counterscarp, met the grenadiers returning with the news that the trench was too high by some feet, and that Mailly, with several of their comrades, had been killed. When the Turks first saw this young officer fastening the ladder, they were seized with terror and fled to the fort. But the death of Mailly frustrated the whole operation; Laugier was also killed and considerable loss incurred without any benefit, though the town ought to have been taken at this time, as reinforcements arrived in the garrison by sea daily. Soon afterwards, the counterscarp was blown up by a new mine sunk for that purpose, and continued

under the ditch in order to blow up the whole tower, as there was no hope of getting in at the breach, which had been filled up with all sorts of combustibles. The English and Turks stood on the inside, and knocked the few stragglers on the head one by one as they entered. About this time the garrison made a sortie, led on by two hundred English, but they were repulsed and a captain of marines was killed.

It was during the progress of the siege, or in the month of April, that the actions of Canaan, Nazareth, Saffet, and Mount Tabor were fought. The last was that which Kleber admired so much. He had foretold its ill-success to Buonaparte, and done all he could to dissuade him from it, but had promised to come up in time to assist him. Buonaparte sat up all night in his tent with the officers sleeping round him. He sat at a table examining maps and measuring distances with a pair of compasses. Every now and then he rose up, went to the opening of the tent, either to breathe the fresh air, or as if to see how the night waned. With the first streak of light he woke the officers, and by ten o'clock he had beaten the Turks, when Kleber arrived just in time to compliment him on his victory.

In the middle of April, Rear-Admiral Perré had arrived at Jaffa with three frigates from Alexandria; he had landed two mortars and six

eighteen-pounders at Tintura. Two were fixed to play upon the little isle that flanked the breach, and the four others were directed against the ramparts and curtains by the side of the tower. On the 25th the mine was sprung, but a chamber under the tower (which had been filled with sand) disappointed the besiegers, and only the part on the outside was blown up. The effect produced was the burying two or three hundred Turks and a few pieces of cannon in the ruins, for they had embattled and occupied every story of the tower. In order to take advantage of the first moment of surprise, thirty men attempted to make a lodgment in the tower, but were unable to proceed beyond the lower stories. On the 26th General Devaux was wounded, and on the 27th Caffarelli died. It was now resolved to evacuate the place, and by directing the batteries against this tottering tower, to destroy it altogether. From this period the besieged perceived that if they remained longer on the defensive, they were lost. The imagination of the Turks was struck with terror, and they fancied every spot to be undermined. A reinforcement of 3000 men entered the place, and Phelippeaux, a French emigrant officer, formed lines of counter-attack; they began at Gezzar's palace and the right of the front of attack. In the space between the two, the most furious contests took place daily; sorties were made with various success, the be-

sieged sometimes carrying every thing before them, and then being driven back again with great loss and disorder. Dismay and death were scattered around. From the narrowness of the space and the numbers engaged, they had hardly room to do all the mischief they would. Sometimes the combatants in the trench, either from the putrid smell or some other cause, being seized with the plague, went mad, did desperate deeds, and fell dead as they fought. On the 1st of May, possession was obtained at peep of dawn of the most salient point of the counter-attack by twenty French volunteers; and at the same moment the English and Turks made a sortie, which was briskly repulsed in its turn, and several hundreds killed. A mine had been already carried across to the rampart under the ditch, when on the 6th the garrison debouched by a sap covered by the fossé, surprised the mask of the mine, and filled up the well. On the 7th the town received a reinforcement of fresh troops.* As soon as their approach was made known by signals, it was calculated that according to the state of the wind they could not land for six hours. In consequence of this a twenty-four pounder which had been sent by Rear-Admiral Perré was immediately brought into play,

* Sir Sidney Smith's account is, that these frequent reinforcements were in part imaginary, but that he kept up a continual report of them to alarm and discourage the enemy.

which battered down a piece of the wall to the right of the tower. At night the French troops fought their way through the breach, and had gained a footing in the place, when the troops which had landed appeared in formidable numbers to renew the battle. Rambaud was killed, and a great many fell with him; Lannes was wounded. The besieged then sallied forth by every gate and took the breach in rear; but they were attacked in turn and cut off. The prisoners taken were armed with European bayonets and came from Constantinople. Every thing appeared so favourable, that on the 10th, at two in the morning, Napoleon ordered a new assault. General Dubois was killed in this last skirmish; and on advancing, Gezzar's house and all the avenues were found to be so thronged with defenders, that the soldiers could not pass beyond the breach.

Under these circumstances, what was to be done? There seemed no hope of carrying the place by a *coup-de-main;* new succours were said to be leaving Rhodes; the French, remote as they were from France and Egypt, could not afford fresh losses: they had already 1200 wounded, and the plague was in the hospitals. Accordingly, on the 20th the siege was raised. The resistance made by the place was no doubt owing to a spirit foreign to itself. The attack was obstinate and well-directed, and there was a proportionable activity,

courage, and readiness of expedient opposed to it. A spirit like Ariel flamed on every part of the walls, and a master-hand was discernible in all the operations. Sir Sidney Smith is a person whose only fault seems to be a constitutional excess of activity and contrivance; but the excess of these qualities is repressed in the presence of the enemy or when life or honour is at stake, and the original impulse remains a useful spur to overcome all obstacles. Buonaparte speaks well of his courage and character, but considers him very eccentric. He attributes the failure of the attack on Acre to his taking the French battering-train, which was on board some small vessels in the harbour. He blames him for making sorties, by which he lost the lives of some hundreds of brave men. He dispersed proclamations among the troops which had the effect of shaking some of them, and Napoleon in consequence published an order, stating that he was *mad*, and forbidding all communication with him. Soon after he sent a lieutenant or a midshipman with a letter containing a challenge to meet him at some place he pointed out in order to fight a duel. Buonaparte laughed at this, and sent him word back that when he brought Marlborough to fight him, he would think of it. Sir Sidney displayed considerable ability in the treaty for the evacuation of Egypt, and took advantage of the discontent which prevailed amongst the

French troops at being so long absent from France, and other circumstances. He also manifested great honour in sending immediately to Kleber to apprise him of Lord Keith's refusal to ratify the treaty, which saved the French army; had he kept it a secret seven or eight days longer, Cairo would have been given up to the Turks, and the French army necessarily obliged to surrender to the English. He also evinced equal humanity and honour in his behaviour to the French who fell into his hands. He had landed at Havre in consequence of some foolish bet he made that he would go to the theatre without being discovered. He was arrested and confined in the Temple as a spy, and at one time it was intended to try and execute him, as a paltry revenge for the mischief he had done at Toulon. Captain Wright was in a room immediately over his head, and they conversed together by means of signs. Shortly after Buonaparte's return from Italy, he wrote to him from prison, to request that he would intercede for him; but in the circumstances in which he was taken, nothing could be done for him. Buonaparte sums up the character of his fortunate antagonist in these words: "He is active, intelligent, intriguing, and indefatigable; but I believe him to be *mezzo pazzo*." *

During some part of the siege of Acre, a shell

* Half-mad.

thrown from the garrison fell at Napoleon's feet. Two soldiers who were standing near, seized and closely embraced him, making a rampart of their bodies for him against the effects of the shell, which exploded and covered them with sand. They all three sank into the hole formed by its bursting: one of the soldiers was wounded. He made them both officers. One of them lost his leg at Moscow, and commanded at Vincennes when the Allies entered Paris. When summoned by the Russians to surrender, he replied that "as soon as they sent him back the leg he had lost at Moscow, he would give up the fortress." This man came from Perigueux in the Dordonne, and survived his master, whose life he perhaps saved. Many times in his life Buonaparte had been saved by the soldiers and officers throwing themselves before him when he was in the most imminent danger. At Arcole, when he was at the head of a desperate charge, his aide-de-camp, Colonel Muiron, threw himself before his General, covered him with his body, and received the blow which was aimed at him. "He fell at my feet," says Napoleon, "and his blood spouted up in my face. Never yet, I believe, has there been such devotion shewn by soldiers, as mine have manifested for me. In all my misfortunes never has the soldier, even when expiring, been wanting to me—never has man been served more faithfully by his troops. With the last drop

of blood gushing out of their veins, they exclaimed *Vive l'Empereur!"**

During the expedition into Syria, the inhabitants of Egypt had conducted themselves in an orderly manner. Desaix in Upper Egypt continued to repulse the attacks of the Arabs, and to secure the country from the attempts of Murad-Bey, who made incursions from the Desert of Nubia into different parts of the valley. Sir Sidney Smith had caused a great number of circulars and libels to be printed, which he sent to the generals and commandants who had been left behind in Egypt, proposing to them to return to France, and guaranteeing their passage, if they chose to do so,

* At the battle of Hanau, General Le Tor, who fell afterwards at the battle of Ligny, and to whose daughter Buonaparte left a legacy, cut his way through a troop of Austrian cavalry to extricate Napoleon, who had been surrounded by them. He received a number of sabre-wounds, and his face was dreadfully scarified. Buonaparte told him, laughing, that if his wife (a handsome English woman) admired him for his beauty he ought to be afraid of meeting her again. The name of this lady was Newton, and the Emperor used to compliment her by saying that she did as much honour to her country by her grace and beauty as her illustrious namesake had done by his science. Buonaparte entering a wretched hovel in one of his campaigns, and finding some potatoes roasting in the ashes, greedily seized on one; and the other officers (of whom General Le Tor was one) drawing back, he said, "Why don't you help yourselves? Do you think I am to burn my fingers for you?" This cordial familiarity of manners, contrasted with the elevation of power, would naturally account for the extreme devotion of his troops.

whilst the Commander-in-Chief was in Syria. These proposals appeared so extravagant that it became the common opinion of the army that the Commodore was not in his right senses. General Dugua, who had the command in Lower Egypt, prohibited all intercourse with him, and indignantly rejected his overtures.

The French forces in Lower Egypt were daily increased by the arrival of men from the hospitals. The fortifications of Alexandria, Rosetta, Rahmanieh, Damietta, Salahieh, Belbeis, and the different points of the Nile which it had been judged proper to occupy with towers, went on constantly during the winter-months. General Dugua had only to repress the incursions of the Arabs and some partial tumults; the mass of the inhabitants, influenced by the Scheiks and Ulemas, remained satisfied and quiet. The first event which interrupted the general tranquillity was the revolt of Emir-Hadji, or the Prince of the Caravan of Mecca. The General-in-Chief had authorised Emir-Hadji to establish himself in Sharkieh to complete the organization of his household. He had already 300 armed men, but he wanted 800 or 900 to form a sufficient escort for the caravan of the pilgrims on their way to Mecca. He remained faithful to Sultan Kabir (the name always given to Buonaparte in the East) until the battle of Mount Tabor; but then Gezzar having succeeded in

communicating with him by the coast, and having informed him that the armies of Damascus and the Naplousains were surrounding the French at the camp of Acre, and that the latter, weakened by the siege, were irremediably lost, he began to doubt of the success of the French, and to listen to Gezzar, wishing to make his peace by rendering him some service. On the 15th of April, having received more false intelligence from an emissary employed by Gezzar, he announced his revolt by a proclamation published throughout Sharkieh. In this he asserted that Sultan Kabir had been killed before Acre, and the whole of the French army made prisoners. The greater part of the population took no notice of these idle rumours. Five or six villages only displayed the standard of revolt, and the Emir's forces were only increased by 400 horse, belonging to a tribe of Arabs. General Lanusse with his moveable column left the Delta, passed the Nile, and marched against Emir-Hadji, whom he succeeded in surrounding, put to death those who resisted, dispersed the Arabs, and burnt one of the villages as an example. The Emir-Hadji himself escaped with four other persons through the Desert, and reached Jerusalem.

During these occurrences in Sharkieh, others of greater importance were passing in Bahireh. A man of the Desert of Derne, possessed of a great reputation for sanctity amongst the Arabs of his

tribe, took it into his head to pretend that he was the angel Elmody, whom the Prophet promises in the Koran to send to the aid of the elect in the most critical emergencies. This man had all the qualities calculated to excite the fanaticism of the multitude. He succeeded in persuading them that he lived without food, and by the especial grace of the Prophet. Every day, at the hour of prayer, and before all the faithful, a bowl of milk was brought to him in which he dipped his fingers, and passed them over his lips; this being, as he said, the only nourishment he took. He had collected a body of 120 followers, inflamed with zeal, with whom he repaired to the Great Oasis, and was there joined by a caravan of pilgrims, consisting of 400 Maugrabins from Fez. He thus found himself at the head of between 500 and 600 men, well-armed and supplied with camels; and marching on Damanhour, surprised and killed sixty men belonging to the nautical legion. This success increased the number of his partisans. He visited all the mosques of Damanhour and the neighbouring villages, and from the pulpit declared his divine mission, declaring himself incombustible and ball-proof, and giving out that his followers would in like manner have nothing to fear from the musquets and cannon of the French. He enlisted 3000 or 4000 converts in Bahireh, most of whom he armed with pikes and shovels,

and exercised them in throwing dust against the enemy, declaring that this blessed dust would frustrate all the efforts of the French against them. Colonel Lefebvre, who commanded at Rahmanieh, left fifty men in the fort, and set out with 200 to retake Damanhour. The action commenced, and when the fire was briskest, some columns of fellahs outflanked the French and passed their rear, with their shovels raising clouds of dust. Colonel Lefebvre could do nothing, though a number of the enemy were killed in the skirmish. The wounded and the relatives of those who were slain loudly reproached their leader, who had told them that they were safe from the balls of the French. He silenced these murmurs by quoting the Koran, and by maintaining that none of those who had rushed forward full of confidence in his predictions had been hurt; but that those who had shrunk back had been punished by the Prophet, because they had not faith in their hearts. This excuse, which ought to have opened their eyes, confirmed their belief. He reigned absolute in Damanhour, and there was reason to apprehend the defection would extend to the whole of Bahireh and the neighbouring provinces. General Lanusse speedily crossed the Delta, reached Damanhour, and defeated the troops of the pretended angel Elmody. Those who were unarmed dispersed and fled to their villages. Lanusse fell on the rest of these

fanatics without mercy, and shot 1500 of them, amongst whom was their ringleader. He took Damanhour, and Bahireh became pacified.

As soon as it was known that the French army had repassed the Desert, and was returning into Egypt, a general consternation prevailed amongst all those who had sided with the French. The Druses, the Mutualis, the Christians of Syria, and the partisans of Ayer had to make their peace with the Pacha by large pecuniary sacrifices. Gezzar was become less cruel than formerly; most of his military household had been killed at St. Jean d'Acre, and this old man survived all those whom he had brought up. The plague, which was making great ravages in the town, also increased his troubles, so that he did not go beyond his Pachaship. The Pacha of Jerusalem resumed possession of Jaffa. Ibrahim-Bey with 400 Mamelukes that he still had left, took up a position at Gaza, and had some skirmishes with the garrison of El-Arisch.

Elphi-Bey and Osman-Bey, with 300 Mamelukes, 1000 Arabs, and 1000 camels, carrying their wives and their riches, went down through the Desert between the right bank of the Nile and the Red Sea, and reached the Oasis of Sebaiar in the beginning of July. They waited for Ibrahim-Bey, who was to join them at Gaza; and thus united, they wished to induce all Sharkieh to

revolt, to penetrate into the Delta, and advance on Aboukir. Brigadier-General Lagrange left Cairo with one brigade and half the dromedary regiment. He came up with the enemy in the night of the 9th of July, and surrounded the camp of Osman-Bey and Elphi-Bey, took their thousand camels and their families, and killed Osman-Bey, five or six Kiaschefs, and 100 Mamelukes. The rest dispersed in the Desert, and Elphi-Bey returned to Nubia. Ibrahim-Bey being informed of this event in time, did not quit Gaza. Murad-Bey with the rest of the Mamelukes, amounting to between 400 and 500 men, arrived in the Fayoum, and thence proceeded by the Desert to Lake Natron, where he expected to be joined by 2000 or 3000 Arabs of Bahireh and of the Desert of Derne, and to march on Aboukir, the place appointed for the landing of the great Turkish army. General Murat set out from Cairo, reached Lake Natron, attacked Murad-Bey, and took a Kiaschef and fifty Mamelukes. Murad-Bey briskly pursued, and having, moreover, no news of the army which was to have landed at Aboukir, but was delayed by the winds, turned back and sought safety in the Desert. In the course of the 13th he reached the Pyramids; it is said that he ascended the highest of them, and remained there part of the day, gazing with his telescope on the houses of Cairo and his fine country-seat at Gizeh. Of all the power of the Mamelukes, he now re-

tained only a few hundred men, disheartened, fugitive, and miserable. As soon as the General-in-Chief heard of his being there, he instantly set out for the Pyramids; but Murad-Bey plunged into the Desert, making for the Great Oasis. A few camels and some men were taken from him.

On the 14th of July the General-in-Chief heard (at Cairo) that Sir Sidney Smith, with two English ships of the line, several frigates and Turkish men-of-war, and a hundred and twenty sail of transports, had anchored in Aboukir roads on the evening of the 12th. The fort of Aboukir was armed, victualled, and in good condition, with a garrison of 400 men and a commandant that might be depended on. Marmont undertook to defend this fort till the army had time to come up. But this General had committed a great error in not following the directions of the General-in-Chief, who had ordered him to raze the village of Aboukir, and extend the fortifications; instead of which he had taken upon himself to preserve the village, as convenient for cantonments, and had a redoubt constructed on the isthmus, which he thought a sufficient security. On the 14th, the English and Turkish gun-boats entered Lake Maadieh, and cannonaded the redoubt; and when it was thought sufficiently battered, the Turks, sword in hand, mounted to the assault, carried the work, and took or killed the 300 French stationed there. The

100 men that remained in the fort, intimidated by the immense force that surrounded them, surrendered.

In the mean time, as soon as Napoleon was informed of the landing of the Turks, he proceeded to Gizeh and dispatched orders to all parts of Egypt. On the 15th he slept at Wardan, on the 17th at Alham, on the 18th at Shabur, and on the 19th at Rahmanieh, thus performing a journey of forty leagues in four days. The divisions of Murat, Lannes, and Bon marched from Cairo; Kleber came from Damietta; General Reynier, who was in Sharkieh, had orders to leave 600 men to garrison the forts, and to march on Rahmanieh. General Desaix likewise received orders to evacuate Upper Egypt, to leave the guarding of the country to the inhabitants, and to come to Cairo with all possible speed; so that if it should be necessary, the whole army, amounting to 25,000 men, might be in motion to join before Aboukir, where there was every reason to expect not only a Turkish, but an English army, and in the uncertainty of the event, the General-in-Chief took the worst for granted. It was his object to attack and defeat the army which was landing at Aboukir, before that of Syria (supposing such an army to have been collected and to be on its way) could reach Cairo. On arriving at Rahmanieh on the 20th, Napoleon learnt the news of the landing of the troops under

Mustapha-Pacha, and of the capture of the redoubt; but that they had not stirred since, either because they were waiting for the junction of the English, or for that of Murad-Bey. The fortifications, in constructing which the enemy occupied themselves on the Isthmus of Aboukir, seemed to indicate that they wished to make this point the centre of operations, and to march thence either on Alexandria or Rosetta, according to circumstances. The General-in-Chief in consequence sent General Murat to Birketh, a village at the head of Lake Maadieh, from whence he could fall on the right flank of the Turks if they should make for Rosetta, or on their left flank if they should march on Alexandria.

While the columns were effecting a junction at Rahmanieh, Napoleon visited Alexandria, and found every thing in the fortifications in excellent order, for which he gave due praise to the talents and activity of Colonel Cretin. As there was a probability of the English coming up, it was important to attack the Turks separately; but there was a difficulty in this, as it would take several days for the whole army to arrive from such distant points, and as the troops actually assembled and ready to engage did not amount to above 5000 or 6000. Napoleon set out from Alexandria on the 24th, and proceeded to Puits, half-way across the isthmus, where he encamped and was joined by all the troops that were at Birketh. The Turks, who were without

cavalry, could not watch his movements, and some hopes were entertained of surprising the enemy's camp; but this design was frustrated by an accident. A company of sappers escorting a convoy of tools, having left Alexandria late on the 24th, passed the fires of the French army, and fell in with the outposts of the Turks at ten o'clock in the evening. As soon as they perceived their mistake they fled, but ten were taken, from whom the Turks ascertained that the General, with the army, was opposite to them, and the next morning they were prepared for the assault. General Lannes with 1800 men made his dispositions to attack the enemy's left. Destaing with a like number of troops prepared to attack the right; Murat, with all his cavalry and a light battery, was in reserve. The skirmishers of Lannes and Destaing soon engaged with those of the enemy, and the Turks maintained the battle with success, till Murat, having penetrated through their centre, suddenly cut off the communication between their first and second lines. The Turkish troops then lost all confidence, and rushed tumultuously towards their rear. This corps consisted of between 9000 and 10,000 men. The Turkish infantry are brave, but preserve no order, and their musquets are without bayonets; they are moreover deeply impressed with an opinion of their inferiority to cavalry on level ground. Encountered in the midst

of the plain by the French cavalry, they could not rejoin their second line; their right was driven towards the sea, and their left towards Lake Maadieh. An unprecedented spectacle now presented itself. The columns of Lannes and Destaing, which had advanced to the heights lately quitted by their adversaries, descended thence at the charge; and these 10,000 men, to escape the pursuit of the infantry and cavalry, threw themselves into the water, and whilst the artillery poured grape-shot upon them, were almost all drowned. It was said that not more than a score succeeded in swimming to the ships. This extraordinary advantage, obtained with so little loss, gave the General-in-Chief hopes of forcing the second line. Colonel Cretin was sent forward to reconnoitre. The left was found to be the weakest part. Lannes had orders to draw up his troops in columns, and under the protection of the artillery to proceed along the lake, turn the entrenchments, and throw himself into the village. Murat was to follow with his cavalry as before, prepared to execute the same movement; Colonel Cretin, who knew every step of the ground, was to direct their march, and Destaing was instructed to make false movements, to occupy the attention of the enemy's right.

All these dispositions succeeded. Lannes had forced the entrenchments and made a lodgment in the village; but Mustapha-Pacha, who was in the

redoubt behind it, at this moment made a sortie with 4000 or 5000 men, and thereby helped to separate the French right from their left, at the same time placing himself in the rear of their right. This movement would have stopped Lannes short; but the General-in-Chief, who was in the centre, marched with the 60th, checked Mustapha's attack, made him give ground, and thereby restored the confidence of General Lannes's troops, who continued their movement, and the cavalry advancing got in the rear of the redoubt. The enemy, finding themselves cut off, fell into the utmost disorder. General Destaing charged on the right, and those who tried to regain the fort falling in with the cavalry, not one Turk would have escaped, had it not been for the village, which a considerable number had time to reach and to entrench themselves in it. A great multitude were driven into the sea. Mustapha with all his staff, and a body of from 1200 to 1500 men, were surrounded and made prisoners. It was four in the afternoon when the battle was over. Mustapha-Pacha did not surrender till after making a valiant resistance; he had been wounded in the hand. The French cavalry had the chief share in the fortune of the day. Murat was wounded in the head by a tromblon shot; Duvivier was killed by a thrust from a kangiar. Cretin was shot dead by a musquet-ball, while conducting the cavalry, and Guibert, aide-de-camp

to the General-in-Chief, was struck by a ball in the breast and died shortly after the battle. The French loss was 300 men. Sir Sidney Smith, who had chosen the position occupied by the Turkish army, narrowly escaped being taken prisoner, and with some difficulty got on board his sloop. The 60th had behaved ill in an assault at St. Jean d'Acre, and the General-in-Chief had it inserted in the order of the day that they should march across the Desert with their arms reversed, and escorting the sick: by their spirited conduct at the battle of Aboukir they regained their former reputation.

Buonaparte left Egypt for France, which he thought required his presence more, on the morning of the 6th of Fructidor (23d of August) 1799, and landed at Frejus on the 9th of October. He gave the command of the army, amounting to 28,000 men, to Kleber, who at first doubting of Buonaparte's safe arrival, and anxious to quit Egypt, sent over the most disheartening accounts and gave ear to every idle rumour. He had formerly served under the Austrians against the Turks, and had conceived the most exaggerated ideas of their prowess and ability in war. Turkish armies and English fleets hovered for a long time in the horizon of his imagination, till Colonel Latour-Maubourg, who left France at the end of January 1800, arrived at Cairo on the 4th of May, with the news of Buonaparte's landing in France

and the events of the 18th of Brumaire, ten days previous to the term fixed for the surrender of that capital to the Grand Vizier. Kleber took heart at this, and he had only to march against the enemy. That rabble which called itself the Grand Vizier's army, was chased across the Desert without making any resistance. The French had not above a hundred men killed or wounded, while the enemy lost an immense number of troops, and their tents, baggage, and artillery. An entire change now took place in Kleber's conduct; he set seriously to work to improve the state of the army and of the country; but on the 14th of June, 1800, he fell by the hand of a fanatic. Menou succeeded to the command, who was totally unfit for it. An English army of 18,000 men, under Sir Ralph Abercrombie, landed at Aboukir the year following. The event of that battle is well known: Sir Ralph Abercrombie was killed, but the French army were obliged to lay down their arms and evacuate Egypt, which they did a short time after, thus losing the whole object of the expedition. Admiral Gantheaume had sailed from Brest the 25th of January, with 5000 men to reinforce the army of Alexandria, and might have arrived in time, had he followed his orders; but he put back with every rumour of an English vessel, and shifted his course oftener than the wind, as if determined to evade his instructions and defeat the object of his voyage. The

French character seems never to have been fixed, or directed steadily and effectually to a given purpose, except under the strong pressure and immediate control of Buonaparte's iron will.*

The scheme in which he embarked on this occasion was left imperfect, and finally failed. But an incident which happened long after, may serve to shew the impression he made on all about him, and on fierce, barbaric minds. Twenty years after the date of the events here related, Antommarchi going to visit Napoleon, then a captive and dying at St. Helena, arrived off Cape Palm. They kept near to the shore, and saw a number of canoes leave the isle and make towards them. They watched the progress of these skiffs with an anxious eye. They were light, swift, narrow, and low, managed by men squatted down in them, who struck the sea with their hands and glided over its surface; a wave, a breath made them upset; but nimble as the fishes, they instantly turned their boats round again, and pursued their course. The vessel had taken in sail; they were soon up with it; they were strong, active, well-made. They brought provisions, which were received with every mark of thankfulness. "Where are you going?" asked one of them.

* The expedition into Egypt was originally suggested to the French Government under M. Calonne, and afterwards to the Directory by a man of the name of Magallon, who had been for several years French Consul-General in the East.

"To St. Helena," was the answer. This name struck him, he remained motionless. "To St. Helena?" he replied, in a tone of dejection—"Is it true that he is there?" "Who?" demanded the captain. "The African cast a look of disdain at him," says Antommarchi, "came to us and repeated the question. We replied that he was there. He looked at us, shook his head, and at length let the word *impossible* escape him. We gazed at one another; we could not tell who this savage could be, who spoke English, French, and who had so high an idea of Napoleon. 'You know him then?'—'Long ago.' 'You have seen him?'—'In all his glory.' 'And often?'—'In Cairo, the well-defended city, in the Desert, in the field of battle.' 'You do not believe in his misfortunes?'—'His arm is strong, his tongue sweet as honey, nothing can resist him.'—'He has for a long time withstood the efforts of all Europe.'—'Neither Europe nor the world can overcome such a man. The Mamelukes, the Pachas were eclipsed before him; he is the God of Battles.' 'Where then did you know him?'—'I have told you, in Egypt.' 'You have served with him?'—'In the 21st; I was at Bir-am-bar, at Samanhout, at Cosseir, at Cophtos, wherever this valiant brigade was to be found. What is become of General Belliard?' 'He still lives; he has rendered his name illustrious by twenty feats of arms. You know him too?'—

'He commanded the 21st; he scoured the Desert like an Arab; no obstacle stopped him.' 'Do you remember General Desaix?'—'None of those who went on the expedition to High Egypt will ever forget him. He was brave, ardent, generous, he plunged into ruins or battles alike; I served him a long time.' 'As a soldier?'—'No, I was not that at first; I was a slave, belonging to one of the sons of the King of Darfour. I was brought into Egypt, ill-treated, sold. I fell into the hands of an aide-de-camp of the Just.* I was habited like a European, and charged with some domestic offices, of which I acquitted myself well; the Sultan was satisfied with my zeal, and attached me to his person. Soldier, grenadier, I would have shed my blood for him: but Napoleon cannot be at St. Helena!' 'His misfortunes are but too certain. Lassitude, disaffection, plots'—'All vanished at his sight; a single word repaid us for all our fatigues; our wishes were satisfied, we feared nothing from the moment that we saw him.' 'Have you fought under him?'—'I had been wounded at Cophtos, and was sent back into Lower Egypt; I was at Cairo when Mustapha appeared on the coast. The army had to march, I followed its movement, and was present at Aboukir. What precision, what an eye, what brilliant charges! It

* The name by which Desaix was known in Egypt.

is impossible that Napoleon has been conquered, that he is at St. Helena!' We did not insist; the African was obstinate, his illusion was dear to him, and we did not wish to dispel it. We gave him some tobacco, powder, some clothes, all the trifles, in short, which were prized by his tribe. He went back well satisfied, speaking always of the 21st, of his chiefs, his General, and of the impossibility that so great a man as Napoleon should be at St. Helena." *

* Last Moments of Napoleon, by F. Antommarchi, vol. i. p. 51.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE EIGHTEENTH OF BRUMAIRE.

On the 9th of October 1799 (16th of Vendemiaire, year VIII.) the frigates La Muiron and La Carrère and the xebecks La Revanche and La Fortune, with which Buonaparte had sailed from Rosetta, cast anchor at break of day in the gulf of Frejus.

No sooner were the French frigates descried than it was conjectured they came from Egypt. The people ran in crowds to the shore, eager for news from the army. It was soon understood that Napoleon was on board, and such was the enthusiasm among the people, that even the wounded soldiers got out of the hospitals in spite of the guards, and went to the shore. The spectators wept for joy. In a moment the sea was covered with boats. The officers belonging to the fortifications and the customs, the crews of the ships that were anchored in the road, in short, every body thronged round the frigates. General Pereymont, who commanded on the coast, was the first to go on board. Thus they were allowed to enter without waiting for the officers of quarantine, for the communication with the ships had been

general. Italy had just been lost: war was about to be recommenced on the Var, from whence Napoleon had driven it three years before; and Frejus dreaded an invasion as soon as hostilities should begin. The necessity of having a leader at the head of affairs was too urgent, and the public mind was too much agitated by the sudden appearance of Napoleon at this juncture for ordinary considerations to have any weight. The quarantine officers declared that there was no occasion for subjecting these vessels to it, and grounded their report on the circumstance that they had touched at Ajaccio. This argument rather proved, that Corsica ought to have been put under the same regulations. It is true, that during fifty days which had elapsed since the vessels left Egypt, there had been no appearance of sickness, and indeed the plague had ceased three days before their departure. At six o'clock that evening Napoleon, accompanied by Berthier, set off for Paris. The fatigue of the passage and the effect of the transition from a dry to a moist climate compelled Napoleon to stop some hours at Aix. The inhabitants of the city and of the neighbouring villages came in crowds to offer their congratulations at seeing him again. Those who lived too far from the road to present themselves there in time, rang the bells, and hoisted flags upon the steeples, which at night blazed with illuminations.

It was not like the return of a citizen to his country, or of a general at the head of a victorious army, but seemed to imply something more than this. The enthusiasm of Avignon, Montelimart, Valence, and Vienne was only surpassed by that of Lyons. That city, in which Napoleon rested for twelve hours, was in a state of general delirium. The Lyonnese had always testified a strong attachment to him, perhaps from feeling a peculiar interest (on account of their situation) in all that related to Italy. They had also just received the accounts of the battle of Aboukir, which formed a striking contrast to the defeat of the French armies of Germany and Italy. "We are numerous, we are brave," the people seemed every where to say, "and yet we are conquered. We want a leader to direct us—we now behold him, and our glory will once more shine forth." In the mean time, the news of Napoleon's return had reached Paris. It was announced at the theatres, and caused an universal sensation, of which even the Directory partook. Some of the *Société du Manège* trembled on the occasion, but they dissembled their real feelings so as to seem to share the common sentiment. Baudin, the deputy from the Ardennes, who had been much grieved at the disastrous turn the affairs of the Republic had taken, died of joy when he heard of Napoleon's return.

Napoleon had already quitted Lyons, before his

landing was announced in Paris. With a precaution hardly necessary in these circumstances, he took a different road from the one he had mentioned to his couriers; so that his wife, his family, and particular friends went in a wrong direction to meet him, and some days elapsed in consequence before he saw them. Having thus arrived in Paris quite unexpectedly, he had alighted at his own house in the Rue Chantereine before any one knew of his being in the capital. Two hours afterwards, he presented himself to the Directory; and being recognised by the soldiers on guard, was welcomed with shouts of gladness. Happy still was this period when every spark of enthusiasm was not dead, and there was at least one man in the world who could excite the least emotion in the public breast! The intoxicating draughts of liberty and of glory that mankind have swallowed in the last forty years seem to have exhausted the vital principle of the human mind, and have brought on premature old age and decay! Buonaparte had every reason to congratulate himself on the reception he met with on all sides. The nature of past events sufficiently instructed him as to the situation of France; and the information he had procured on his journey had made him acquainted with all that was going on. His resolution was taken. What he had been unwilling to attempt on his return from Italy, he was now

determined to do at once. He had the greatest contempt for the government of the Directory and for the leaders in the two Councils. Resolved to possess himself of authority and to restore France to her late glory by giving a powerful impulse to public affairs, he had left Egypt to execute this project; and all that he had seen in passing through France had confirmed his sentiments and strengthened his design.

It is necessary to take a retrospective glance at what had happened in his absence. The elections of Floreal, year VI. (May 1798), which immediately followed his departure, were not favourable to the Directory, though they took place in a totally opposite spirit to those of the year V. After the 18th of Fructidor, the defeat of the counter-revolutionists had thrown all the influence into the hands of the extreme republican party, who had re-established the clubs under the title of *Constitutional Circles*. This party ruled in the electoral assemblies, which had to nominate 437 new deputies to the legislative body. As the elections drew near, the Directory inveighed loudly against those whom it termed *anarchists;* but not being able to influence the choice of the members, it determined to annul the greater part of them in virtue of a law, by which, in the preceding year, the Councils had entrusted it with the power of revising the proceedings of the electoral

assemblies. For this purpose a commission of five members was appointed out of the legislative body, by means of which the party of the Directory struck from the list all the violent Republicans, as nine months before they had excluded the Royalists. Soon after, Merlin of Douay and Treilhard, who succeeded Carnot and Barthelemy, went out of office by rotation; Rewbell remained the chief manager in all affairs which required boldness and promptitude; Reveillère was too much taken up with the sect of the Theophilanthropists for a statesman; Barras led the same dissolute life as ever, and his house was the resort of gamesters, women of intrigue, and adventurers of every description. To the difficulties arising out of want of union in the government or from the conflict of parties were soon added those of a war with all Europe.

While the plenipotentiaries of the Republic were still negociating the conditions of peace at Rastadt, the second Coalition took the field. The treaty of Campo-Formio had only been considered by Austria as a suspension of arms to gain time. England found no difficulty in engaging her to take part in the new confederation, to which, with the exception of Prussia and Spain, all the other European powers lent their aid. The subsidies of Great Britain and a crusade in the South prevailed with Russia: the Porte and the Barbary States acceded to it in consequence of

the invasion of Egypt; the Empire to recover the left bank of the Rhine, and the petty princes of Italy in the hope of overturning the new Republics which had been established there. The Congress at Rastadt was gravely occupied in discussing the articles of the treaty relative to the cession of the left bank of the Rhine, the navigation of this river, and the demolition of certain fortresses on the right bank, when the Russians advanced into Germany and the Austrian army was immediately put in motion. The French plenipotentiaries, taken unawares, received orders to depart in twenty-four hours; they obeyed on the instant, and set forward on their journey after having obtained safe-conducts from the enemy's generals. At a short distance from Rastadt they were way-laid by some Austrian hussars, who having ascertained their names and titles, assassinated them on the spot; Bonnier and Roberjot were slain, Jean de Bry was left for dead. Such was the insult and outrage deliberately and openly offered to the rights of nations in the persons of the French envoys, because no terms were to be kept with those who had set up the rights of nature in opposition to the sacred right of kings! Such was the meek patience, the long-suffering, the mild perseverance, with which the Allied Powers shewed their desire of peace by massacring the ambassadors that had been appointed to conclude it with them! Such

was their "unbought grace of life," their "cheap defence of nations!" Yet these are the people, they who authorised, who repeated, and who applauded outrages like this, who were the professed supporters of religion, morality, and social order, who if a hair of their heads was but touched, cried out for help as if the dissolution of the world was at hand, and who laid it down that every violation of the nicest punctilio with regard to them was a crime of the deepest dye, in proportion as they were entitled and had *carte blanche* (according to every notion of legitimacy) to practise all sorts of atrocity with impunity and with impudence. Yet these are the men who complained of the unprovoked aggressions and insatiable ambition of France, and of the impossibility of making peace with her. Yet it is to this government who thus broke off a hollow truce, and seizing the sword, threw away the scabbard, that Madame de Stael afterwards addressed the pathetic appeal—*Allemagne! tu es une nation, et tu pleures!* On the first intelligence of this breach of faith and of every principle of civilized society, the legislative body declared war against Austria, and in terms of becoming indignation at the outrage which had provoked it.

Hostilities commenced in Italy and on the Rhine. The military conscription which had been sanctioned by a law placed 200,000 recruits at the

disposal of the Republic. The powers who were the most impatient and formed the advanced guard of the Coalition had already entered the lists. The King of Naples marched against Rome, and the King of Sardinia had levied troops and menaced the Ligurian Republic. As they had not a force sufficient to stand the shock of the French armies, they were easily overthrown and defeated. General Championnet entered Naples, after a sanguinary victory. The Lazzaroni defended the interior of the city during the space of three days, but they were at length compelled to submit, and the *Parthenopean Republic* was proclaimed. Joubert occupied Turin, and all Italy was in the hands of the French, when the campaign opened upon a wider scale.

The Coalition had the advantage of the Republic in numerical forces, and in the forwardness of its preparations: it commenced the attack by the three grand openings of Italy, Switzerland, and Holland. A numerous Austrian army entered the Mantuan territory, and twice beat Sherer on the Adige; where it was soon after joined by the eccentric and hitherto victorious Suwarrow. Moreau took the place of Sherer, and was beaten like him. He retreated by way of Genoa, in order to maintain the barrier of the Apennines and to effect his junction with the army of Naples, commanded by Macdonald, which had been almost crushed to pieces

at Trebbia. The Confederates then directed their principal forces towards Switzerland. Some Russian troops joined the Archduke Charles, who had defeated Jourdan on the Upper Rhine, and who prepared to pass the Swiss frontier. At the same time the Duke of York landed in Holland with 40,000 English and Russians. The little Republics that formed a circle round France were invaded; and after a few more victories, the Allies might hope to penetrate to the very centre of the capital.

It was in the midst of these military disasters, and of the discontents that followed, that the new elections for the year VII. (May 1799) took place. They turned out favourably for the Republican party, but fatally for the members of the Directory, who were not strong enough to make a stand against the public calamities and their personal enemies. Siéyes replaced Rewbell, who went out by rote, and was the only one among them who had much energy or spirit to head a party. Treilhard was also deprived of his situation on account of an informality in his election to office, the year required by the Constitution not having expired since he had belonged to the Legislative Body; his place was supplied by Gohier, Ex-Minister of Justice. Merlin of Douay and Reveillère-Lepaux being thus left in a minority and violently attacked by the most powerful speakers in the Councils,

resigned with some reluctance, and were succeeded by General Moulins and Roger-Ducos. Siéyes, thus invested with power which he had hitherto declined, began to cast about how he should effect the ruin of the old Republican Constitution of the year III. and set up one of those in its stead, the plan of which he always carried about with him in his pocket. He had either feared or had a dislike to Rewbell, and as long as he was in office, refused to act with him. In the Directory he at present reckoned on the support of Ducos; in the Legislature, on the majority of the Council of Ancients; among the people on those who wishing to keep what they have, only require stability and order: he was at a loss for a military leader, and for this purpose had fixed on Joubert whom he had placed at the head of the Army of the Alps, that by means of victory and the liberation of Italy, he might gain a great political ascendant. The new Directors, Gohier and Moulins, still wished to maintain the Constitution of the year III.; they had the Council of Five Hundred on their side, and were strengthened by the Club of the Manège, the remnant of that of Salms, of the Pantheon, and of the Jacobins. Barras remained neuter amidst these factions, or rather had a new game of his own to play, as he had lately connected himself with the royalist party. This amidst so many agitations had not

been idle, and taking advantage of the successes of the Coalition, of the embarrassments occasioned by the forced loan, and of the unpopularity of the law of hostages, which required the families of emigrants to give personal security to government, had begun to raise disturbances in the South and West, and to re-appear in armed bands. Of all the factions that disturbed France for so long a time, this is the only one that remained true to itself: that waited patiently, watched its opportunity, and seized upon it whenever it occurred. Power never slumbers, and fear and self-interest wait upon it as its shadow!

Fortunately for the Republic, the war took a turn about this time on the two principal frontiers of the Upper and Lower Rhine. The Allies, having gained possession of Italy, wanted to penetrate into France by Switzerland and Holland; but Massena and Brune put a stop to their hitherto triumphant march. Massena advanced against Korsakof and Suwarrow. During twelve days of well-contrived manœuvres and successive victories, passing to and fro from Constance to Zurich, he repelled the efforts of the Russians, forced them to retreat, and broke up the Coalition. Brune likewise defeated the Duke of York in Holland, obliged him to re-embark on board his vessels, and give up the attempt at invasion. The Army of Italy alone had been less successful; and its General,

Joubert, had been killed at the battle of Novi, as he was charging the Austro-Russian army at the head of his troops. But this frontier was of less consequence on account of its remoteness, and was also ably defended by Championnet. The change in the face of the war made, however, no change in the state of parties. Things went on as before. Siéyes pursued his projects against the Republicans. Lucien Buonaparte gave a flaming description in the Council of Five Hundred of the reign of terror, which he said was about to be renewed. Bernadotte was deprived of his command, and Fouché, who had lately been appointed to the head of the police, shut up the *Société du Manège*. The death of Joubert had once more embarrassed Siéyes in the choice of a military leader. Hoche had been dead more than a year; Moreau was suspected on account of his conduct with regard to Pichegru; Massena was no politician; Bernadotte and Jourdan were of the opposite party. Things were in this state when Buonaparte returned, nineteen days after the victory of Bergen, obtained by Brune over the Duke of York, and fourteen after that of Zurich, obtained by Massena over Suwarrow. He was just the man that Siéyes wanted; but as Buonaparte did not stand in the same need of him, the fine web of policy he had woven was taken out of his hands the moment it was realised, and the great political machine he had

been at so much pains and had taken so much time to construct, turned and crushed the inventor as soon as it was put in motion.

Of the members that composed the Directory when Buonaparte quitted France a year and a half before, Barras alone remained. The other members were Ducos, Gohier, Moulins, men of moderate talents but of good intentions, and Siéyes. The latter had been long known to Napoleon. He was a native of Frejus in Provence, and his reputation had commenced with the Revolution. He had been called to the Constituent Assembly by the electors of the *Third Estate* at Paris, after having been repulsed by the Assembly of the Clergy at Chartres. He was the author of the pamphlet entitled, "*Qu'est-ce-que le Tiers-Etat?*" which made so much noise. He was not a man of business; all his studies having been devoted to metaphysics, he had the common fault of metaphysicians, that of too often despising positive notions; but he was, notwithstanding, capable of giving good and useful advice on matters of importance, or at any urgent crisis. To him France is indebted for its division into Departments, which destroyed a number of local prejudices; and though he was never distinguished as an orator, he greatly contributed to the success of the Revolution by his advice in the Committees. He was nominated to the Directory at its first establishment; but he declined the dis-

tinction at that time from his dislike to Rewbell; and Reveillère-Lepaux was appointed in his stead. He was afterwards sent ambassador to Berlin, where he imbibed a great mistrust of the politics of Prussia. He had taken a seat in the Directory not long before the 18th of Brumaire; but he had already made great exertions to check the progress of the *Société du Manège*, which he conceived to be ready to seize the helm of the State. At the period of the 13th of Vendemiaire, a trifling circumstance had given Napoleon a favourable opinion of him. At the most alarming moment of that day, when the Committee of the Forty seemed quite at a loss, Siéyes came to Napoleon and drew him into the recess of a window, while the Committee was deliberating upon the answer to be given to the summons of the Sections. "You hear them, General," said he; "they talk while they should be acting. Bodies of men are wholly unfit to direct armies, for they know not the value of time or occasion. You have nothing to do here; go, General, consult your genius and the situation of the country; the hopes of the Republic rest on you alone."

Napoleon accepted an invitation to a private dinner with each of the Directors; and a grand entertainment was given to him by the Directory. The Legislative Body desired to follow the example; but an objection arose on account of Mo-

reau, whom they did not wish to invite or to shew him any marks of respect, his behaviour having excited a very general disapprobation. To avoid this difficulty, recourse was had to a subscription, and the entertainment was given in the church of St. Sulpice, where covers were laid for seven hundred persons. Napoleon remained at table but a short time. He also dined with the Minister of Justice (Cambaceres), where he requested that the principal lawyers of the Republic might be invited. He appeared very cheerful at this dinner, conversed at large on the civil and criminal codes, to the great astonishment of Tronchet, Treilhard, Merlin, and Target, and expressed a wish that the persons and property of the Republic should be subjected to a simple code, adapted to the enlightened state of the age. This wish he afterwards carried into effect in the *Code Napoléon*. He entered but little into public entertainments of any kind, and pursued nearly the same line of conduct that he had followed on his first return from Italy. He went frequently to the Institute, but seldom to the theatres, and then always into the private boxes. Meanwhile, the arrival of Napoleon in France made a strong impression on the rest of Europe. The English were particularly enraged at Sir Sidney Smith and Nelson for letting him escape. A number of caricatures on the subject were exhibited in the streets of Lon-

don, in one of which Nelson was represented amusing himself with dressing Lady Hamilton, while the frigate La Muiron was passing between his legs.

Talleyrand did not expect to be well received by Buonaparte, as he had not seconded the expedition to Egypt by opening negociations with the Porte or going himself in person, as had been stipulated. But he had been dismissed from the situation he held through the influence of the Clubs. His address was also insinuating, his talents important; a reconciliation accordingly took place between the General and the Minister, for each wanted the other. Fouché, in whom Buonaparte had no faith, was not, though Minister of Police, admitted into the secret of the 18th of Brumaire. Réal, a zealous revolutionist, but a man full of energy and character, possessed most of his confidence. All classes were impatient to see what Napoleon would do, and all parties courted him. The *Société du Manège* even offered to acknowledge him as chief, and to entrust the fortunes of the Republic to him, if he would second their principles in other respects. Siéyes, who had the vote of Roger Ducos in the Directory, who swayed the majority of the Ancients and influenced a minority in the Council of Five Hundred, proposed to place him at the head of the Government, changing the Constitution of the year III.

which he deemed defective, and substituting one of his own, which he had by him in manuscript. A numerous party in the Council of Five Hundred, with Lucien Buonapàrte at their head, were also strongly in his favour. Barras, Moulins, and Gohier hinted the eligibility of his resuming his old command of the Army of Italy. Moulins and Gobier were sincere in the plan they recommended, and trusted that all would go well from the moment that Napoleon should once more lead the armies to victory. Barras knew better; he was aware that every thing went wrong, that the Republic was sinking; and it is broadly asserted that a plan to restore the Bourbons through his means had miscarried by the merest accident, only a few weeks before. Even Louis XVIII. turned his eyes on Buonaparte as a second General Monk, and wrote him a confidential letter, exhorting him to put his intentions in his favour into effect, not long after the overthrow of the Directory.

In these circumstances Napoleon had the choice of several measures: 1st, To strengthen the existing Constitution and support the Directory, by becoming himself one of them. But the Directory and the existing Constitution had fallen into contempt, partly from external reverses, partly from wounds inflicted on itself; and besides, he conceived that a magistracy in several hands wanted the energy necessary in the circumstances of the

times, to say nothing of his own personal views. 2nd, He might change the actual government, and seize on power by the aid of the *Société du Manège* and the violent Republican party. In that way his triumph would be secure and easy. But he reasoned that these men attached themselves to no leader, and would brook no control, that they would by incessant jealousy and cabal throw all into chaos and confusion again, and that either the same scenes of violence and extravagance would be acted over again, of which there had already been a satiety, or that he should be obliged to get rid of, and put down by the strong hand of power, the very persons who had raised him to it, and who had expected to share it with him. There was a treachery and want of decorum in this, to which he felt a repugnance; or rather he had no inclination to enter into any compromise or compact with this party, but to wash his hands of them from the first as a preliminary and indispensable step. 3rd, He might secure the support of Barras and his friends, but they were men of profligate character, and openly accused of embezzling the public treasure. Without strict integrity, it would have been impossible to restore the finances or give energy to the measures of government. 4th, Siéyes had a considerable party at his disposal, men of character and friends of liberty on principle, but possessed of little energy, intimidated by the *Ma-*

nège, and averse to popular violence. Such persons might be made useful after the victory, and Siéyes could be considered in no sense as a dangerous rival. But to side with this party was to make enemies of Barras and the Jacobins, who abhorred Siéyes.

On the 8th of Brumaire (October 30th) Napoleon dined with Barras and a few other persons. "The Republic is falling," said the Director; "things can go no farther; a change must take place, and Hedouville must be named President of the Republic. As to you, General, you intend to join the army; and for my part, ill as I am, unpopular, and worn out, I am fit only to return to private life." Napoleon looked stedfastly at him, without replying a word. General Hedouville was a man of the most ordinary character. This conversation decided Napoleon; and immediately after, he called on Siéyes to give him to understand that he had made up his mind to act with him, and it was settled that the blow should be struck between the 15th and 20th of Brumaire. On returning to his own house, he found Talleyrand, Fouché, Rœderer, and Réal there. He related to them, without any comment or without any expression of countenance which could betray his own opinion, what Barras had just said to him. Réal and Fouché, who both had a regard for the Director, went to him to tax him with his ill-timed dissimulation. The fol-

lowing morning at eight o'clock Barras came to Napoleon, who had not risen; insisted on seeing him, said how imperfectly he had explained himself the preceding evening, declared that he alone could save the Republic, and entreated him, if he had any project in agitation, to rely entirely on his cordial concurrence. But Napoleon, who had already taken his measures, replied that he had nothing in view, that he was indisposed from fatigue and the change of climate, and put an end to the interview. Gohier and Moulins came daily to Napoleon to consult him on military and civil business: with respect to the first, he offered his opinions frankly, but he declined interfering with the latter.

The officers of the garrison of Paris, headed by Moreau, the adjutants of the National Guard, most of whom had been appointed by him when he was General of the Army of the Interior, wished to be presented to Napoleon: the 8th and 9th regiments of dragoons, who were old regiments of the Army of Italy, the 21st light-horse, who had taken a distinguished part on the 13th of Vendemiaire against the Sections, wished him to appoint a day to review them: but the better to conceal his designs, he either declined all these overtures or gave evasive answers to them. The citizens of Paris also complained of the General's keeping so close; they went to the theatres and reviews in

the hope of seeing him, but he was not there. Nobody could account for this shyness. "It is now," they said, "a fortnight since his arrival" (an age to the levity and short-sightedness of these people) "and as yet he has done nothing. Does he mean to behave as he did on his return from Italy, and leave the Republic to be still torn in pieces by contending factions?" But the decisive hour approached.

On the 15th Siéyes and Buonaparte had an interview, at which they resolved on the measures for the 18th. It was agreed that the Council of Ancients, availing itself of the 102d article of the Constitution, should decree the removal of the Legislative Body to St. Cloud, and should appoint Napoleon Commander-in-Chief of the guard belonging to it, of the troops of the military division of Paris, and of the National Guard. This decree was to be passed on the 18th, at seven o'clock in the morning; at eight, Napoleon was to go to the Thuilleries, where the troops were to be assembled, and there to assume the command of the capital. On the 17th he sent word to the officers of the garrison that he would receive them the next day, at six in the morning. As that hour might appear unseasonable, he feigned being about to set off on a journey; he gave the same invitation to the forty adjutants of the National Guard; and he informed the three cavalry regiments that he would review

them in the *Champs Elysées*, on the same day (the 18th) at seven in the morning. He also intimated to the Generals who had returned from Egypt with him, and to all those on whose sentiments he could rely, that he should be glad to see them at that hour. Each thought that the invitation was addressed to himself alone, and supposed that Napoleon had some particular orders to give him; as it was known that Dubois-Crancé, the Minister-at-War, had laid the reports of the state of the army before him, and had adopted his advice on all that was to be done, as well on the frontiers of the Rhine as in Italy.

Moreau, who had been at the dinner given by the Legislative Body, where Napoleon had for the first time become acquainted with him, having learnt from public report that a change was in agitation, assured the latter that he placed himself at his disposal, that he had no wish to be admitted into any secrets, and that he required but an hour's notice. Macdonald, who happened to be at Paris, had made the same tender of his services. At two o'clock in the morning, Napoleon let them know that he wished to see them at his house at seven o'clock, and on horseback. He did not apply to Augereau or Bernadotte, whom he knew to be hostile to his designs; but Joseph Buonaparte brought the latter, who however slipped away from the cavalcade as it was on its way to the

Council of Ancients, and went to join the discontented members of the *Manège*. General Lefebvre, who commanded the military division, was known to be wholly devoted to the Directory; Napoleon dispatched an aide-de-camp to him at midnight, desiring he would come to him at six o'clock.

Every thing took place as it had been planned. About seven in the morning the Council of Ancients assembled under the presidency of Lemercier. Cornudet, Lebrun, and Fargues depicted in lively colours the distresses of the country and the dangers to which it was exposed from internal and external enemies. Regnier, deputy from La Meurthe, then proposed the removal of the sittings of the Legislative Body to St. Cloud, and that Buonaparte should be invested with the command of the troops; "under the shelter of whose protecting arm," added the orator, "the Councils may proceed to discuss the changes which the public interest renders necessary." As soon as it was known that this step had been taken in concert with Buonaparte, the decree passed, but not without strong opposition. The decree was passed at eight o'clock; and at half-past eight the state-messenger who was the bearer of it arrived at Napoleon's house.* The avenues were filled with

* This house was well chosen. It is up a long narrow avenue (in the Rue Chantereine) with walls on both sides, where Buo-

the officers of the garrison, the adjutants of the National Guard, a number of generals, and the three regiments of cavalry. Napoleon had the folding-doors thrown open; and his house being too small to contain such a concourse of persons, he came forward on the steps in front of it, received the congratulations of the officers, harangued them, and repeated that he relied upon them for the salvation of France. At the same time he gave them to understand that the Council of Ancients, under the authority of the Constitution, had just conferred on him the command of all the troops; that important measures were in agitation, designed to rescue the country from its embarrassed situation; that he trusted to their support and goodwill, and that he was at that moment ready to mount horse to proceed to the Thuilleries. This address was received with the greatest enthusiasm; the officers drew their swords, and vowed their service and fidelity. Napoleon then turned towards Lefebvre, demanding whether he chose to remain with him or return to the Directory; but the latter, overcome by this appeal, did not hesitate a moment. Napoleon then mounted on horseback, and placed himself at the head of the Generals and officers and of fifteen hundred horse, who had halted for him on the Boulevard at the corner of the *Rue*

naparte, if need had been, could have held out for a long time with a few hundred men against all Paris.

Mont-Blanc. He directed the Adjutants of the National Guard to return to their quarters, and beat the drums; to make known the decree which they had just heard, and to announce that no orders were to be obeyed but such as should emanate from him.

Napoleon presented himself at the bar of the Council of Ancients, attended by this imposing escort. He addressed the Assembly. "You are the wisdom of the nation," he said; "at this crisis it belongs to you to point out the measures which may save the country. I come, surrounded by all the Generals, to promise you their support. I appoint General Lefebvre my lieutenant. I will faithfully fulfil the task with which you have entrusted me. Let us not look into the past for examples of what is now going on. Nothing in history resembles the end of the eighteenth century: nothing in the eighteenth century resembles the present moment." The troops were mustered at the Thuilleries; Napoleon reviewed them amidst the unanimous acclamations of both citizens and soldiers. He gave the command of the troops which were to guard the Legislative Body to General Lannes; and to Murat the command of those sent forward to St. Cloud. He deputed Moreau to guard the Luxembourg with 500 soldiers of the 86th regiment, whom he placed under his orders; but at the moment of setting off the men refused to

march from their want of confidence in Moreau, and Buonaparte was obliged to harangue them before they would obey. The news that Napoleon was at the Thuilleries, and that he was invested with the supreme command, flew like lightning through the capital. The people flocked in crowds to see him or to offer him their services. The decree of the Council of Ancients and an address from Buonaparte to the citizens and to the soldiers were everywhere posted up on the walls of Paris. He called on the former to rally round the Legislative Body as the only means of ensuring union and confidence, and he assured the latter that "liberty, victory, and peace would soon reinstate the Republic, which had been ill-governed for two years, in the rank which she held in Europe, and from which imbecility and treachery were alone capable of degrading her." The greatest agitation and uncertainty prevailed in Paris. The friends of liberty expressed their apprehension of the ultimate designs of Buonaparte, in whom they saw a future Cæsar or Cromwell; but were answered by his partisans in the words of the General himself, who designated the parts they had played as *"bad parts, parts worn out, unworthy of a man of sense, even if they were not so of a man of honour. It would be nothing less than a sacrilegious ambition that would attempt any such enterprise as that of overturning a representative govern-*

ment in the age of light and liberty. He must be a madman who should, in mere wantonness of heart, lose the wager of the Republic against royalty, after having maintained it with some glory and at some risk." These words might be supposed to convict the person to whom they are attributed of the rankest hypocrisy, if the heart were not deceitful above all things; or if it were not true that men often dare not avow their intentions to themselves till they are ripe for execution, or scarcely know what they are till they have been crowned with success. The reproaches he addressed to Bellot, Barras's Secretary, were more in character, more consonant with his past services and future designs: "What have you done with that France which I left you so splendid? I left you peace, and I find you at war: I left you victory, and I find defeats: I left you the spoils of Italy, and I find everywhere oppression and misery. What have you done with a hundred thousand Frenchmen whom I knew, all of them my companions in glory? They are dead. This state of things cannot last; in three years it would lead us to destruction. According to some, we shall all be shortly enemies to the Republic—we who have preserved it by our efforts and our courage. We have no occasion for better patriots than the brave men who have shed their blood in its defence!" Napoleon now sent an aide-de-camp to the Guards

of the Directory, for the purpose of communicating the decree to them, and enjoining them to receive no orders but from him. The Guards sounded to horse; the commanding officer consulted the soldiers, who answered with shouts of joy. At this very moment an order from the Directory arrived, contrary to that of Napoleon; but the soldiers, obeying no orders but his, marched to join him. Siéyes and Roger Ducos had been ever since the morning at the Thuilleries. It is said that Barras, on seeing Siéyes mount his horse, was much amused at the awkwardness of the unpractised equestrian, little suspecting the event of this day's proceedings. Being shortly after apprised of the decree, Barras consulted with Gohier and Moulins, the latter of whom proposed to send a battalion to surround Buonaparte's house; but finding no means of executing their threats, as their own Guards had deserted them, both Gohier and Moulins went to the Thuilleries and gave in their resignation, as Siéyes and Roger Ducos had already done. Talleyrand hastened to inform Barras of what had just taken place, and having done the same, he was removed under a guard of honour to his estate at Gros-Bois. The Directory was thus dissolved, and Napoleon remained master of the field.

Cambaceres, Fouché, and the other ministers repaired to the Thuilleries, prepared to act under the new authority. Fouché had given directions

for closing the barriers and preventing the departure of couriers and stage-coaches. Buonaparte disapproved of this: "Wherefore," he asked, "all these precautions? We go with the opinion of the nation, and by its strength alone. Let no citizen be interrupted, and let every publicity be given to what is done!" The majority of the Five Hundred, the minority of the Ancients, and the leaders of the Manège spent the night of the 18th in consultation. At a meeting at the Thuilleries, Siéyes proposed that the forty principal leaders of the opposition should be arrested. This recommendation savoured too much of caution or of fear to be relished by Napoleon, though he afterwards had reason to think Siéyes was right. It was at this meeting that the appointment of three Provisional Consuls was agreed upon, as well as the adjournment of the Councils for three months. Their several parts were also assigned to the leaders in the Two Councils for the next day.

On the 19th the Deputies met at St. Cloud. Siéyes and Ducos accompanied Buonaparte to this new field of battle, to assist him with their encouragement or advice; and Siéyes remained during the whole day in his carriage at the gate of St. Cloud, prepared to act as circumstances should require. The Orangery was allotted to the Council of Five Hundred, and the Gallery of Mars to that of the Ancients; the apartments since known by

the name of the Saloon of the Princes and the Empress's Cabinet were prepared for Napoleon and his staff. Though the workmen had been busily employed the whole of the preceding day, it was two o'clock before the place assigned to the Council of Five Hundred could be got ready. This delay produced some murmuring and inconveniences. The Deputies who had been on the spot since noon, formed groups in the garden, grew warm and animated, and encouraged one another in their opposition to the new measures. The General-in-Chief traversed the courts and the apartments, and giving way to the ill-disguised impatience of his character, was heard to declare, "I will have no more factions, all that must cease absolutely!" more in the authoritative tone of the master than of the servant of the state.

As soon as the sittings opened, which they did to the sound of music playing the Marseillois, Emile Gaudin, one of the Five Hundred, ascended the tribune, painted in alarming colours the dangers of the country, and proposed thanks to the Council of Ancients for the measures of public safety which it had taken, at the same time inviting them by message to explain themselves more fully on the means of saving the Republic. This motion became the signal for the most violent tumult; from all sides of the hall loud cries of disapprobation were directed against Gaudin: the speaker in the

confusion was hurled violently to the bottom of the tribune. The ferment was excessive. The republican party surrounded the tribune and the chair where Lucien Buonaparte presided. Cabanis, Boulay de la Meurthe, Chazal, Gaudin, Chenier, and others who were chiefly concerned in the success of the day, grew pale and uneasy in their seats. After a long and violent uproar, during which no one could make himself heard, silence was restored for a moment, and Delbred proposed to renew the oath to the Constitution of the year III. The Chamber from this proceeded to the *Appel Nominal,* each member by turns answering to his name and giving his vote at the same time. During the *Appel Nominal,* reports of what was passing reached the capital. The leaders of the *Société du Manège,* the *tricoteuses* were all in motion. Jourdan and Augereau, who had hitherto kept out of the way, believing Napoleon lost, hastened to St. Cloud. Augereau, drawing him aside, said, "Well, here you are in a fine situation!" "Remember Arcole," replied Napoleon; "matters then appeared much worse. Take my advice, and remain quiet for half an hour, and you will see things take a different turn."

The Assembly appeared to declare itself with so much unanimity, that no Deputy durst refuse to swear fidelity to the Constitution, which would have been capital in the circumstances: even

Lucien was compelled to take the oath. Shouts and cries of approbation were heard throughout the Chamber. Many members in taking the oath, added observations which might have a dangerous influence on the troops. No time was to be lost. Napoleon crossed the Saloon of Mars, entered the Council of Ancients, and placed himself at the bar, opposite to the President. Every thing would be to be dreaded, should the latter Assembly which was favourably inclined to him, catch by infection the tone of the Council of Five Hundred. "Representatives of the People," he said, "you are here in no ordinary circumstances; you stand on a volcano. Yesterday I was living in privacy, when you sent for me to notify to me the decree of the removal of the Councils, and to charge me to see it executed. I instantly collected around me my companions in arms; we have flown to your succour. But to-day I am loaded with calumnies: they talk of Cæsar, of Cromwell, of a military despotism. If I had wished to oppress the liberties of my country, I should not have listened to the orders which you have given me: nor should I have needed to receive this authority at your hands. More than once (and under the most favourable circumstances) have I been called upon to assume the sovereign power. After our triumphs in Italy, I was invited to it by the voice of my comrades, of those brave men who have been so ill-used since.

But I declined doing so, because I did not think my interference required by the situation of the country. I swear to you, Representatives of the People, the country has no more zealous defender than myself; but it is to you that it must look for safety. Danger presses, and disasters come thick upon us. The Minister of Police has just informed me that several fortified places have fallen into the hands of the Chouans. There is no longer a Government; four of the Directors have tendered their resignation; the fifth (Barras) is under *surveillance*. The Council of Five Hundred is divided, and influenced by agitators and turbulent men, who would bring back the time of revolutionary tribunals, and who are now sending out emissaries to instigate Paris to revolt. Fear not, Representatives, these criminal projects; surrounded by my brethren in arms, I shall find means to protect you from their violence. I desire nothing for myself, but that you would save the Republic; and as you cannot make the Constitution, abused as it has been, respected, that you would at least preserve the foundation on which it rests, liberty and equality. You have only to speak the word, and your orders shall be obeyed. And you, brave grenadiers, whose caps I observe at the doors of this hall, whom I have so often led to victory against the satellites of kings, I who am now accused of being hostile to liberty, say, did I ever

break my word to you, when in the camp, in the midst of privations, I promised you victory and plenty, and when at your head I led you from conquest to conquest? Now say, was it for my own aggrandisement, or for the interest of the Republic? And let those who talk of outlawing me, beware how they draw that condemnation on themselves. Should some orator in foreign pay propose such a measure, I should appeal to you, my friends, and to my own good fortune."

The General-in-Chief in thus appealing to his men, spoke with evident emotion; and the grenadiers, waving their caps and brandishing their arms in the air, with one accord testified their assent. Upon this Linglet, one of the most resolute members, rose and said: "General, we applaud what you say; swear then with us obedience to the Constitution of the year III. which can alone save the Republic." This proposition took the Council by surprise, and Buonaparte was for a moment disconcerted by it; but he recovered himself presently, and said; "The Constitution of the year III.? you have it no longer. You violated it on the 18th of Fructidor; you violated it on the 20th of Floreal; you violated it on the 30th of Prairial. The Constitution is a mockery invoked by all parties, and infringed by them all in turn. It cannot be effectively appealed to, since it has the respect of no person. The Con-

stitution once violated, it is necessary to have recourse to a new compact, to other guarantees." The Council applauded the reproaches which Buonaparte thus threw out against it, and rose in sign of approbation. Cornudet and Regnier spoke warmly to the same effect. A member of the opposition party denounced the General as the only conspirator against public liberty. Napoleon interrupted the orator, by declaring that he was in the secret of every party, and that all despised the Constitution of the year III. alike, the only difference being that some desired to have a moderate Republic, in which all the national interests and all property should be respected, while others wanted a revolutionary government, with a renewal of all the disorders they had gone through. At this moment Napoleon was informed that the *Nominal Appeal* was terminated in the Council of Five Hundred, and that they were endeavouring to force the President Lucien to put the outlawry of his brother to the vote. Napoleon immediately hastened to the Five Hundred, entered the Chamber with his hat off, and ordered the officers and soldiers who accompanied him to wait at the door: he was desirous to present himself at the bar, to rally his party, which was numerous, but which had lost all unity and resolution. When Napoleon had advanced alone across one-third of the Orangery, two or three hundred mem-

bers suddenly rose, crying, "Death to the tyrant! Down with the dictator!" Several members advanced to meet him, and Bigonet, seizing him by the arm, said, "What are you thinking of, rash man? Withdraw; you profane the sanctuary of the laws." Buonaparte stopped, and turned round; and the grenadiers, seeing what was passing, rushed forward and forced him out of the chamber. In the confusion one of them, named Thomé, was slightly wounded by the thrust of a dagger.

The absence of the General did not restore quiet. All the members spoke at once, every one proposed some measure of public safety and defence. They loaded Lucien Buonaparte with reproaches: the latter justified his brother, but with hesitation. He at length succeeded in mounting the tribune, and appealed to the Council to judge his brother with less rigour. He assured them that he entertained no designs contrary to liberty—he recalled his services. But several voices cried out, "He has forfeited all his claims:" the tumult became more violent than ever, and they demanded the outlawry of General Buonaparte. "What!" exclaimed Lucien, "do you wish me to pronounce the sentence of outlawry against my brother, the saviour of his country! of him whose very name makes kings tremble?"—"Yes, yes, it is the reward of tyrants." It was then proposed and put to the vote in the midst of all this

disorder, that the Council should be declared permanent, and should repair instantly to its place of meeting in Paris; that the troops assembled at St. Cloud should be considered as forming part of the guard of the Legislative Body, and the command given to General Bernadotte. Lucien, confounded by so many propositions, and by the vote of outlawry which he thought was adopted among the rest, quitted the chair, mounted the tribune, and called out in a state of the greatest agitation, "Since I can no longer obtain a hearing in this assembly, I lay aside with the deep feeling of insulted dignity the symbols of the popular magistracy." Saying this, he stripped himself of his cloak and his President's scarf.

Meanwhile, Buonaparte had some difficulty, on coming out of the Council of Five Hundred, in recovering from his embarrassment. Little accustomed to scenes of popular violence, he had been a good deal staggered. This is easily understood, for no man has more than one kind of courage, namely, in those things in which he is accustomed to feel his power and see his way clearly. Even our habitual confidence and success in other things operate as a drawback rather than otherwise, for we are the more struck with the contrast and the want of our usual resources, and exaggerate every trifling impediment into a serious objection. His officers formed a circle round him; and

Siéyes, more seasoned to revolutionary storms, sent to advise the instant employment of force. General Lefebvre directly received orders to bring off Lucien from the Council. A detachment of soldiers entered the hall, advanced towards the chair, of which Lucien had again taken possession, enclosed him in their ranks, and saying, "It is your brother's orders" (for he was at first surprised at their appearance) returned with him in triumph into the midst of the troops. As soon as Lucien was at liberty, he got on horseback by the side of his brother, and though stripped of his legal title, still harangued the troops as President. He declared that the majority of the Five Hundred were intimidated and prevented from coming to any regular deliberation by a handful of assassins. Raising his powerful voice, he exclaimed, "General, and you soldiers, and all you who are citizens, you will recognize as legislators of France only those who are willing to follow me. As to those who shall remain in the Orangery, let them be expelled by force. Those banditti, armed with poniards, are no longer the Representatives of the people!" After this furious philippic, Buonaparte took up the discourse: "Soldiers," he said, "I have led you to victory; may I rely upon you?"—"Yes, yes; long live our General!" "Soldiers, there was reason to believe that the Council of Five Hundred would save the

country; on the contrary, it is given up to dissensions within itself; turbulent and designing men are trying to direct all its rage against me. Soldiers, can I rely on you?"—"Yes, yes!" "Well, then, I am about to bring them to reason:" and so saying, he gave orders to some superior officers about him to clear the Hall of the Five Hundred.

The Council, after the departure of Lucien, was given up to the most cruel anxiety and most lamentable indecision. Some members proposed to return to Paris in a body, and throw themselves on the protection of the people; others were for waiting the issue and setting at defiance the violence with which they were threatened. While these discussions were going on, a troop of grenadiers entered the hall, proceeded slowly up it, and the officers commanding it notified to the Council the order to disperse itself. The deputy Prudhon reminded the officer and the soldiers of the respect due to the Representatives of the People; General Jourdan also pointed out the enormity of their present proceeding. The troops hesitated a little, but a reinforcement entered in close column with General Leclerc at its head, who said aloud, "In the name of General Buonaparte, the legislative corps is dissolved; let all good citizens retire. Grenadiers, forward!" Cries of indignation rose from all parts of the hall, but they were stifled by the sound of the drums. The

grenadiers advanced, occupying the whole width of the Orangery, slowly and presenting bayonets. They thus drove the Legislative Body before them, who withdrew amidst cries of *Long live the Republic!* At half-past five o'clock, 19th of Brumaire (10th of November), there was no longer any representation of the people.

About one hundred deputies of the Council of Five Hundred rallied and joined the Council of Ancients, who had witnessed the foregoing scene of military violence with some uneasiness, but were soon satisfied with the explanations that were given. At eleven at night the two Councils re-assembled; and two Committees were appointed to report upon the state of the Republic. On the motion of Berenger, thanks to Napoleon and the troops were carried. Boulay de la Meurthe in the Five Hundred, and Villetard in the Ancients, stated the situation of the country and t e measures necessary to be taken. The law of the 19th of Brumaire was passed, which adjourned the Councils to the 1st of Ventose following; and authorised two Committees of twenty-five members each to represent the Councils *ad interim*. These Committees were also instructed to prepare a civil code. A Provisional Consular Commission, consisting of Siéyes, Roger Ducos, and Napoleon, was charged with the executive power. The Provisional Consuls repaired on the 20th at two in

the morning to the Chamber of the Orangery, where the Councils were then sitting. Lucien, as President, addressed them in these words: "Citizen Consuls, *the greatest people on earth* entrusts its fate to you. Three months hence, your measures must pass the ordeal of public opinion. The welfare of thirty millions of men, internal quiet, the wants of the armies, peace—such are to be the objects of your cares. Doubtless, courage and devotion to your duties are requisite in taking upon you functions so important; but the confidence of our people and warriors is with you, and the Legislative Body is convinced that your hearts are wholly with the country. Citizen Consuls, we have previously to adjourning taken the oath, which you will repeat in the midst of us; the sacred oath of fidelity to the sovereignty of the people, to the French Republic one and indivisible, to liberty, to equality, and to the representative system." The Assembly separated, and the Consuls returned to Paris to the Palace of the Luxembourg. Thus was the Revolution of the 18th of Brumaire effected without blood, but not without violence or falsehood.

At nine o'clock in the evening of the 19th, the news had spread from St. Cloud throughout Paris; and the following proclamation, signed by Buonaparte, was read by torch-light.

"Citizens! On my return to Paris I found dis-

cord pervading every department of Government, and only this single truth unanimously agreed on—that the Constitution was half-destroyed, and no longer capable of maintaining our liberties. Every party by turns applied to me, entrusted me with its designs, disclosed its secrets, and solicited my support. I refused to become the head of any faction. The Council of Ancients called on me. I answered the appeal. A plan for a general reform had been devised by men in whom the nation is accustomed to behold the defenders of liberty, of justice, and of property: this plan demanded calm, free, and impartial examination, unfettered by influence or fear. The Council of Ancients therefore determined upon the removal of the Legislative Body to St. Cloud. It entrusted me with the disposal of the force *necessary for the maintenance of its independence.* I deemed it due from me to my fellow-citizens, to the soldiers who are laying down their lives in our ranks, to the glory purchased by their blood, to accept the command. The Councils met at St. Cloud, the troops of the Republic guaranteed safety without; but assassins spread terror within. The plans which were to have been brought forward were withheld; the majority of the Assembly was disorganized; the most intrepid speakers were disconcerted; and the inutility of any sober proposition became but too evident. Indignant and grieved, I hastened to the Council of Ancients;

I entreated it to allow me to carry its designs for the public good into execution. I urged the misfortunes of the country which had suggested them. The Council seconded my views by new testimonies of unabated confidence. I then offered myself to the Chamber of Five Hundred—alone, unarmed, my head uncovered, as I had been received by the Ancients with so much approbation. Instantly the daggers which had menaced the deputies were raised against their defender. Twenty assassins rushed upon me, aiming at my breast. The grenadiers of the Legislative Body, whom I had left at the door of the Chamber, hastily interposed between these murderers and myself. One of these brave fellows (Thomé) received a thrust with a dagger, which pierced through his clothes. They carried me off; and at the instant they were doing so, cries were heard, demanding the outlawry of him who was at that very time the defender of the law. They crowded round the President, threatening him with arms in their hands, and requiring him to pronounce the outlawry. Apprised of this, I gave directions for rescuing him from their fury, and ten grenadiers of the Legislative Body charged into the Chamber and cleared it. The factious parties, intimidated, dispersed and fled. The majority, relieved from their violence, returned freely and peaceably into the Chamber, listened to the proposals made to them; and on due deliberation,

framed the wholesome resolutions which are about to become the new and provisional law of the Republic. Frenchmen! you will doubtless recognise in my conduct the zeal of a soldier of liberty, of a citizen devoted to the Republic. The principles on which security, liberty, and property depend, are restored to their due preponderance by the dispersion of those factious men who tyrannised over the Councils, and who, though they have been prevented from becoming the most hateful of men, are nevertheless the most wretched."

This proclamation is one of those things in which Buonaparte appears in the most unfavourable light, and which have afforded the greatest handle to his enemies. It is a tissue of glaring misrepresentations or paltry and ill-disguised subterfuges. It betrays either a panic-fear unworthy of a brave man, or a gratuitous and barefaced hypocrisy, unworthy of an honest one. If his conduct was called for by strong necessity, let it be justified on that ground; if it had only ambition to plead, let it be justified by its success; and not in either case by a multiplication of air-drawn daggers and womanish apprehensions, which are beneath the dignity of public affairs, and seem more like a parody on Falstaff's "ten men in buckram," than a part of serious history. There is nothing that posterity forgive so unwillingly as a lie. *That* is peculiarly their affair. The actual evil may have passed

away, but the insult to the understanding remains, and the attempt to take from us the means of coming to a right judgment causes a fresh resentment every time it is thought of. Buonaparte appears to have been haunted by a preposterous and feverish dread of the Jacobins; and this dread shewed itself not merely in descriptions and denunciations, but in a very unwarrantable behaviour towards them soon after, in the business of the Infernal Machine. Why take such pains or make so great a merit of preventing this party from declaring *the country in danger* a little before this period? Whatever use they might have made of such a declaration, they were so far at least right in thinking some strong measures and a change of system necessary; for Buonaparte himself resorted to the strongest of all measures, the overthrow of the Government, on the plea of the dangers and distresses of the country. How then could he consistently blame their reasonings or their object, though he might disapprove of the mode of carrying that object into effect, or of the extent to which they might push it? They were in fact the only men of active and energetic character opposed to him in the career of power and popularity; and besides, he might be disgusted with the excesses they had already committed and which might be renewed, and which appeared to have so little tendency to strengthen their cause.

He preferred *his* weapons to theirs, not less from taste than policy. A battle gained was a new pillar or trophy added to the Temple of Liberty: a civil massacre only turned it into a shambles slippery with blood, where it was unsafe to stand and disagreeable to enter. There was certainly something repulsive and sickening in the disproportion between the violence of the means and the stability of the end produced by these men. Theirs was only an extreme remedy, which was to be avoided as long as possible. Another reign of terror, followed by another *reaction* (its natural consequence), could hardly have failed to lead, by a revolting gradation, to the return of the ancient *régime*. Buonaparte had no such ground of objection to Siéyes's party, who were neither men of active habits nor of strong passions, and whose fine-spun theories could be easily made to give way to circumstances, and their paper constitutions pierced by the sword. They were the *ideal* party, who in all cases are more intent upon forming speculations than on realising them, and who, though they may be troublesome associates, are seldom formidable rivals. There was a third party which Buonaparte had to keep at bay, that of the royalists and foreign princes; and it was his triumph over this, and his fitness and determination to contend against it, redoubling blows on blows, and victories on victories, that secured him the

co-operation and good wishes of the great body of the state and of the most constant lovers of liberty. If the Revolution had been firmly and securely established without him, and he had erased or undermined the stately fabric, to raise his own power upon the ruins, then he would have been entitled to the execration of the friends of freedom, and would have received the thanks of its hereditary enemies: but the building had already been endangered and nodded to its fall, had been defaced and broken in pieces by internal discord and by foreign war; and the arch of power and ambition that he reared stood on ground forfeited over and over again to humanity; the laurels that he won, and the wreathed diadem he wore, were for having during fifteen years avenged the cause of liberty by triumphing over its insolent and unrelenting foes, and thus shielding its sacred name from insult. It was not till after his fall that liberty became a bye-word, and that the warning voice was once more addressed to mankind—"*Discite justitiam moniti, et non temnere reges!*"

CHAPTER XXIII.

PROVISIONAL CONSULS.

On the morning of the 11th of November 1799 the new Consuls held their first sittings. Buonaparte took the chair and Maret was appointed Secretary, in the room of Lagarde, who had held that situation under the Directory. Maret, a native of Dijon, who afterwards figured as Duke of Bassano and was greatly attached to Napoleon, was a man of mild manners and of considerable ability. He was attached to the early principles of the Revolution, but had fled during the reign of Robespierre, and was arrested by the Austrians with Semonville as he crossed Lombardy on his way to Venice. After the 9th of Thermidor (which put an end to the power of Robespierre) he was exchanged for Madame, the daughter of Louis XVI., then a prisoner in the Temple.

The first sitting of the Consuls lasted several hours. Siéyes had not been without hopes that Napoleon would interfere only with military matters, and would leave the regulation of civil affairs to him; and he was much surprised when he found that Napoleon had formed settled opinions on po-

licy, finance, and jurisprudence, and in short on all the branches of administration; that he supported his arguments with clearness, and was not easily turned from his purpose. In the evening, on returning home, he said aloud in the presence of Chazal, Talleyrand, Boulay, Rœderer, Cabanis, and others, "Gentlemen, you have a master: Napoleon *will* do all, and *can* do all without your assistance. In our situation, it is better to submit than to encourage dissensions which must end in certain ruin."

The first act of Government was the new-modelling of the Ministry. Dubois de Crancé was Minister-at-War, but was so little fitted for or attentive to his office, that he could not furnish the Consuls with a single report on the state of the army. Berthier was appointed in his stead, who was a month before he could collect materials for drawing up a proper report. When Dubois de Crancé was asked, "You pay the army; you can surely give us a return of the pay?" the answer was, "We don't pay it." "You victual the army; let us have the returns of the victualling-office?"—"We don't victual it." "You clothe the army; let us see the statements of the clothing?"—"We don't clothe it." The army at home was paid by robbing the treasury; abroad, it was subsisted and clothed by means of requisitions, and the War-office exercised no kind of control. The army in Holland, which had just

repulsed the English, was in good condition, as the Dutch, according to treaty, had to supply all its wants. But those of the Rhine, of Switzerland, and Italy were in a state of lamentable privation and of the greatest insubordination. As soon as the reform of the War-Department was effected, discipline was easily restored. The post of Minister of Finance was held by Robert Lindet, who had been a member of the Committee of Public Safety under Robespierre, an honest man, and accounted an able financier at a time when the true Minister of Finance was the printer of the assignats. Lindet was succeeded by Gaudin, afterwards Duke of Gaeta, who had been long employed in that department. The treasury was empty; there was not wherewithal to dispatch a courier in it. Nothing came into it but cheques, bills, notes, schedules, and paper of all kinds, on which the receipts of the army had been consumed by anticipation. The contractors being paid in drafts themselves, drew directly on the receivers, as fast as any thing came into their hands; and yet they did no service. The rate of interest was at six per cent. Every source of supply was dried up; credit was in a great measure annihilated; all was disorder, waste, and destruction. The new minister, Gaudin, adopted measures which put a stop to these abuses and restored confidence. He suppressed the compulsory loan, which had produced as bad an effect on pro-

perty as that which the law of hostages had produced on the liberty and safety of the people; raised twenty-four millions of livres on the sale of the domains of the House of Orange, which France had reserved to itself by the treaty of the Hague; made a saving of two millions yearly in the collection of the direct imposts; created a redemption-fund, in which the receivers of taxes were obliged to deposit a twentieth part of their receipts; and put the forest-lands under the best regulation, from which, when properly managed, the Republic was entitled to receive forty millions of livres a year. Such was the patriotic zeal and conscientious integrity of the new minister, that he would not go to bed or sleep a single night, after he had received the portfolio of finance, till he had devised a scheme for abolishing some of the most glaring abuses in his department. All that he did or proposed at this early period, he strengthened and perfected during fifteen years of an able administration. He never had occasion to withdraw any of his measures, because his knowledge was practical, the fruit of long and attentive experience.

Cambaceres retained the administration of Justice, and Reinhard that of Foreign Affairs. Talleyrand was still unpopular, particularly on account of his conduct in regard to America; and besides, till the Government was established and put into an imposing attitude, it was not the time for him to

come forward as a negociator, or to play his cards to advantage. Bourdon resigned the Admiralty to Forfait, a native of Normandy, with a great reputation as a naval architect, but who turned out a mere projector. The Consuls also found they had been mistaken in appointing Laplace to succeed Quinette as Minister of the Interior. This great geometrician proved totally inadequate to the post that was assigned him: he sought for subtleties in the most common things, looked at every question in a problematical point of view, and carried the doctrine of the infinite divisibility of matter into the business of the state. Hitherto the official appointments made by the Consuls had been unanimous; their first difference of opinion arose with respect to the Minister of Police. Fouché had the character of being sanguinary, venal, insincere. Siéyes detested him, and considered the Government as insecure while he presided over the Police. Napoleon wished to retain him, and remarked that with all his faults, he had been serviceable to the Republic. "We are creating a new era," he said; "in the past we must remember only the good, and forget the evil. Time, habits of business, and reflection have formed many able men and modified many indifferent characters." This is not a just view of human nature in general, which never changes; nor did the present instance turn out an exception to

the common rule. Buonaparte was fond of playing with edged tools, thinking he could turn their good qualities to account, and by dexterous management prevent their hurting him. He could not well part with Fouché; the ability was an indispensable requisite, the want of principle was not so absolute an objection as perhaps it ought to have been. The Department of the Posts was given to Laforet, who had been Consul-General in America. The Polytechnic School was then only in its infancy. The charge of it was given to Monge, under whose direction it became one of the most celebrated in the world, and rendered the most important services to the country in every department, whether of peace or war.

The new Government, in spite of its activity and attention to the public interest, had still many enemies to contend with. When we do not acknowledge the right to power, the abuse of it is the only thing that can reconcile us to it. Wise or salutary measures in that case irritate our dislike and opposition, by rendering it hopeless. Insurrections broke out in La Vendée, Languedoc, and the Netherlands. The royalist party, which for many months had been gaining strength, was severely mortified at a change that threatened to crush all their expectations. The anarchists and defeated members of the Manège kept Siéyes in continual alarm, who once came in the greatest

agitation and awoke Napoleon at three in the morning, to tell him of some plot of which the Police had just informed him. "Let them come," replied the latter; "in war as well as in love we must come to close quarters to make an end of it. It may as well be settled one day as another." The law of the 19th of Brumaire had enjoined the Government to provide measures for restoring the public tranquillity. Fifty-five members had been expelled from the Legislative Body; and as they did not desist from their machinations and refused to quit Paris, they with some other party-leaders were sentenced to banishment, thirty-seven to Guiana, and twenty-two to the island of Oleron. This decree, which was thought too violent at the time, had the effect of dispersing the disaffected, but was merely held *in terrorem* over them for a while, and was never carried into execution. By degrees the people felt assured; addresses came pouring in from every quarter; and the Government, confident of its increasing strength, did all in its power to mitigate the rage of parties and close up old wounds. The *law of hostages*, which had been passed in July 1799, and by means of which great numbers of individuals had been thrown into prison, as the relations of emigrants and persons bearing arms against the Republic, was repealed. During the ascendancy of the Theophilanthropists (such was the power of intolerance

and the narrowness of party-spirit) little attention was paid to the distinction between refractory priests and those who had submitted to the oaths; some had been sent to the Isle of Rhé, some to Guiana, some into foreign countries, and others languished in prison. It was agreed upon as a principle by the Provisional Government, that conscience was not amenable to the law, and that the right of the sovereign extended no farther than to the exaction of obedience and fidelity. Napoleon, who had had occasion to see and reflect much on religious questions and on the subject of toleration both in Italy and Egypt, lost no time in putting a stop to this species of persecution, no longer called for by the circumstances of the times. It was decreed that every priest banished or imprisoned, who would take an oath of fidelity to the established Government, should immediately be restored to his liberty. Within a short time after the passing of the law, more than twenty thousand persons of this class returned to their families. Only a few of the most bigotted or ignorant persisted in their obstinacy and remained in exile. At this period also, the law of the *décades* was repealed, the churches were again opened to public worship, and pensions were granted to persons of both sexes under religious vows, who took the oath of fidelity to the Government. Nothing is more difficult than to draw the line in such cases, or to know where to

stop in the nice interval between true liberality and officious interference. Thus the allowing persons of both sexes to devote themselves to monastic vows, if their conscience pricks them, and they so choose it, is a dictate of the true principles of toleration, it is their affair, and no business of the Government; but that it is no business of the Government to encourage this sort of indolent seclusion by positive rewards, and to grant pensions to those who may incline to it, seems equally certain, and a consequence of the same doctrine of absolute neutrality in questions of a theological nature. Pope Pius VI. had died not long before at Valence, at the age of eighty-two. In passing through, Napoleon had learnt that no funeral honours had been paid to him, and his corpse was laid in the sacristy of the cathedral. A decree of the Consuls ordered that the customary honours should be rendered to his remains, and a marble monument raised over his tomb. It was an homage paid by the First Consul and the majority of the French nation to an unfortunate sovereign and the head of the Church. So far all was well; but persons and principles are closely connected together in the human mind, and respect is seldom shewn to one without an intention of favouring the other. It is from the rare union of moderation and firmness, that liberality is so apt to be suspected of something insidious, and that favours or lenity shewn to

an adversary are considered as treachery to your own party. It was on this account that the erasure of the members of the Constituent Assembly, who had formally acknowledged the sovereignty of the people, from the list of emigrants, occasioned great uneasiness. "The emigrants," it was said, "will return in crowds; the royalist party will raise its head, as it did in Fructidor; the republicans will be massacred." In virtue of this law, the excellent and blameless La Fayette, Latour-Maubourg, and Bureau de Puzy returned to France and to the peaceful enjoyment of their property, which had not been alienated. It was at least worth while to excite some alarm, and even to run some risk for the purpose of restoring a man like La Fayette to his country, who, in the dungeons of Olmutz, only longed to know the success of the cause of liberty, which was kept concealed from him; and whose only thought since seems to be whether any good can be done for the cause of mankind.

It had happened some years before, that a vessel which had left England for La Vendée, having on board nine persons belonging to some of the oldest families of France—Talmonts, Montmorencies, and Choiseuls, had been wrecked on the coast of Calais. These passengers were emigrants: they were arrested, and from that time had been dragged from prison to prison, from

tribunal to tribunal, without having their fate decided. Their arrival in France was not a voluntary act; but they were seized on account of their supposed place of destination. They affirmed indeed that they were on their way to India, but the vessel and its stores proved that they were going to La Vendée. Without entering into that point, Napoleon conceived that the condition of these unfortunate people rendered them inviolable, and that they were under the laws of hospitality. He had in fact already decided a similar question in the year 1794, when as general of artillery he was engaged in fortifying the coasts of the Mediterranean. Some members of the Chabrillant family, on their passage from Spain to Italy, had been taken by a corsair and brought into Toulon: they were immediately thrown into prison, and the populace, believing they were emigrants, rose and would have massacred them. Napoleon availing himself of his popularity and of his influence over the cannoneers and workmen of the arsenal, who were foremost in the disturbance, saved this unhappy family. Dreading however another insurrection of the people, he concealed them in empty ammunition-waggons which he was sending to the Isles of Hyeres, and by this means they escaped. These two cases appear to be distinct: in the latter there is not a shadow of doubt, and one ceases to wonder that a people who had so little

sense of reason or humanity as to treat those unhappy persons as criminals, should have shewn themselves so little worthy of liberty. In the case of the passengers going to La Vendée, there is a doubt whether the Government was not authorised to treat them like any other declared enemies—as if they had been English troops, for instance, thrown upon the coast—that is, to detain them prisoners. But there is a scale of morality above the letter of the law: Buonaparte was right in both cases; for whenever there is but an excuse and an opening for an act of magnanimity, it is right to take advantage of it. The generosity of the behaviour cannot be doubted, however the correctness of the reasoning may; and noble and disinterested sentiments are the best safeguard of justice and liberty, by striking at the root of all that is mean and sordid.

Buonaparte in speaking of this event justly contrasts it with the conduct of the British Government towards Napper Tandy and Blackwell, who after having been shipwrecked on the coast of Norway, were seized in crossing the neutral territory of Hamburgh at the instigation of the British minister, and delivered up to execution as Irish rebels. The British envoy compelled the Senate of Hamburgh to make this unmanly surrender: "and who would believe it," exclaims Napoleon, "all Europe rose up to second the demand!"

Who would *not* believe it at a time when all Europe was drunk with the rage of social order, and deaf to all but the siren sounds of legitimacy? Napper Tandy was not at Hamburgh by choice but necessity; he was not there taking advantage of a neutral territory to hatch plots against the government or to take away the life of the king of England. In the last case, I should not have a word to say against his arrest, though contrary to forms, and though the same Europe would have rung with the justice of his seizure and the aggravated enormity of his guilt. The Senate of Hamburgh had yielded on its part to the importunity of legitimate Europe before the 18th of Brumaire: shortly after that event, they sent a long letter of apology to the head of the Government, who did not admit of the validity of their excuses. They afterwards sent a deputation to the Thuilleries to implore oblivion, and to urge their weakness: "You had at least the resource of weak states," said Napoleon, "that of letting your prisoners escape."

Hitherto the French Government had supported French prisoners in England, while the latter country supported English prisoners in France. The Consular Government succeeded in altering this arrangement which was detrimental to France; as there were more French prisoners than English, and as provisions were dearer in England than in France. Each nation became from this time re-

sponsible for the support of the prisoners it detained.

The oath of hatred to royalty was suppressed as useless and contrary to the majesty of the Republic, which, acknowledged as it was on all sides, stood in no need of such support. There was also another reason; that it was as well to get rid of this oath of hatred to royalty before it swore allegiance to a new monarch, an event which there is every ground to suppose Buonaparte considered as at this period very possible. It was also resolved, that the anniversary of the 21st of January should no longer be observed as a festival. Of this subject I have spoken already, nor do I see occasion to change what I have said: on the contrary, Buonaparte's anxiety to wash out the memory of that event only made it more necessary that he should be reminded of it; for in proportion as he forgot it, the more he forgot himself and his real and only durable pretensions. The ostensible object of the Provisional Government however was to rally and unite all parties, and to efface whatever could excite irritation or animosity. Offices were studiously bestowed on men of all parties and of moderate opinions. The effect of this proceeding was visible and instantaneous: men of all parties were disposed to rally round the standard of what bid so fair to be a national government: he who just before was ready

to throw himself into the arms of the emissaries of the Bourbons hesitated, and once more sided with the country. The foreign faction was for a moment disconcerted, but soon conceived hopes of making use of Napoleon as an instrument to bring back the Bourbons; for bigotry and prejudice, unlike reason and philosophy, never despair; and there is no chance, however absurd, that in their pertinacity and the servile subjection of their imagination to their habitual convictions, they do not catch at. Buonaparte had an interview with two of the chief agents of this party, Hyde de Neuville and Dandigné, the one a young man of talent, the other a wild fanatic. They laboured to persuade him that his wisest course would be to restore the old dynasty, and consolidate his own power by the help of theirs: he strove to make use of them as instruments to gain over the Vendean chiefs. Each finding the other inflexible, they parted without any wish to renew the intercourse.

The troubles in Toulouse, in the South, and in Belgium were gradually appeased, as the principles and intentions of the new government developed themselves. Nevertheless, the Vendeans and Chouans still disturbed eighteen departments of the Republic. Chatillon, their chief, had taken Nantes; and they replied to all the proclamations of the Directory by counter-proclamations, boldly asserting their resolution to restore the throne and

the altar. But about this time a change took place in their feelings: worn out with endless struggles, alarmed at the force which Napoleon sent against them, but still more dazzled by his reputation, they listened to terms of accommodation. Soldiers of fortune themselves, daring and adventurous leaders, for the first time there was a sympathy between them and the head of the government; and their dislike of the cause for a time gave way to their admiration of the man. Chatillon, Suzannet, D'Antichamp, and the Abbé Bernier, the leaders of the insurrection on the left of the Loire, submitted and signed a treaty with General Hedouville at Montluçon, on the 17th of January 1800. Bernier was rector of St. Lo, and exercised great influence over his flock. He came to Paris, and attached himself to the First Consul, by whom he was employed to negociate the Concordat, and was afterwards made Bishop of Orleans. Georges and La Prevelay were at the head of the bands in Brittany, on the right of the Loire; Bourmont commanded those of the Maine, Frotté those of Normandy. La Prevelay and Bourmont submitted, and came to Paris. Georges and Frotté chose to keep on the war. It gave them an opportunity under colour of political motives to indulge in every species of licentiousness and pillage; to lay the rich under contribution on pretence that they were the purchasers

of national domains; to rob the public coaches because they carried the dispatches of the state; to break open the banking-houses, because they corresponded with the Treasury. They kept up an intelligence with the vilest people in the capital, the keepers of gaming-houses and brothels, where they brought their plunder, and there learnt how to lay their snares and ambuscades for travellers on the road. Generals Chambarlhac and Gardanne entered the department of the Orne at the head of two moveable columns to secure Frotté. This young chief, who was active and full of stratagems, was surprised at the house of Guidal, commandant at Alençon, who betrayed him. He was tried and shot. Georges maintained himself in Morbihan with the assistance of the money and arms which he had received from England. Attacked, beaten, and hemmed in at Grand-Champ by General Brune, he capitulated, and promised to live a good and peaceable subject. He solicited permission to be presented to Napoleon, who endeavoured to make the same impression on him as on some other Vendean chiefs, but in vain. The war in the West being thus brought to a conclusion, many good regiments were disposable for foreign service.

The Provisional Government interfered but little with continental politics. Some uneasiness had been excited by an army which Prussia was rais-

ing at the time of the Duke of York's landing in Holland. Duroc, Napoleon's aide-de-camp, was dispatched to Berlin with a letter for the King. He had every reason to be satisfied with his reception, and with the apparent disposition of the Cabinet. The Prussian Court was filled with the military, who delighted to listen to the accounts of the wars in Italy and Egypt (the truth here having almost the air of a romance) and who were also gratified that the soldiers in France had taken the reins of the Government out of the hands of the lawyers. Paul I. also, the autocrat of all the Russias, the most arbitrary and self-willed of mortals, had always entertained a great antipathy to the Revolution and the Republic; but piqued by the opposition of the English or struck with some touches of his own humour in Napoleon, he suddenly turned round and conceived a vast admiration and predilection for the character of the First Consul. Buonaparte was probably allured by these first and imperfect successes to hope for the establishment of a thorough fellow-feeling and an entire amalgamation of policy and interests with the other continental Courts.

While the state of public affairs thus continued to improve, the labour of remodelling the Constitution drew towards an end: the Consuls and the two Committees were incessantly employed on it. According to law, the two Councils were to

meet on the 19th of February 1800: the only method of preventing them was to promulgate the new constitution, and offer it to the acceptance of the people before that epoch. The three Consuls and the two intermediate Committees resolved themselves into a Committee for that purpose during the month of December in Napoleon's apartment, from nine in the evening till three in the morning. Daunou acted as secretary. The confidence of the assembly chiefly rested upon the reputation and experience of Siéyes. The Constitution that he had by him in his portfolio had been much extolled. He had thrown out some hints concerning it, which were eagerly caught up by his numerous admirers, and which through them found their way to the public, seeming to justify the eulogium which Mirabeau passed upon him, when he said, "the silence of Siéyes is a national calamity." He had indeed made himself known by several pamphlets which evinced thought and acuteness. He it was also who originally suggested to the Third Estate the idea of declaring itself a National Assembly; he likewise proposed the oath of the *Jeu de paume*, not to separate till they had drawn up a Constitution; and France was indebted to him (as has been already observed) for its division into Departments. He professed to have composed a theory respecting representative government and the

sovereignty of the people, full of useful ideas, which were laid down as fundamental principles. The Committee expected to have this long-meditated scheme laid before them, and that they should have nothing to do but to deliberate upon and ratify it. At the first sitting, however, Siéyes said nothing: he acknowledged that he had a great accumulation of materials by him, but they were neither classed nor digested. At the following sitting he read a report on lists of notables. He afterwards detailed bit by bit, and letting out the grand secret by degrees, and with a great deal of pomp and preparation, the theory of his Constitutional Jury, and at last came to the Government. *Mons parturiens—mus nascitur.* How different is all this from the simplicity and ardour of a great mind in the enunciation of a great discovery, respecting which the author, entertaining no doubt himself, makes no mystery of it to others, and seeing it all under one point of view and by a sort of intuition, is impatient only lest they should not seize it with the same force, and is eager to communicate the whole of it by a single breath! The Abbé Siéyes's plans were not of this condensed or convincing description: they were neither practical nor theoretical, neither deductions from abstract reason, nor dictates of common sense, but a strange tissue of vague assumptions and frivolous excuses, of general doc-

trines spun to the most attenuated thread or suddenly snapped asunder at the author's pleasure or convenience, and then pieced together again by some idle verbiage or technical nomenclature. They shew in as striking a degree as almost any other abortions of the kind the power of the mind to make plausible arrangements of words without meaning, and to satisfy itself with its own pedantic trifling. This first essay, from its unsatisfactory issue, and from the great reputation of the man, must have tended to inspire Buonaparte with a very indifferent opinion of the constitution-mongers and ideologists of France, and have made him indignant at having his will and power thwarted by such shadows and mockeries of reasoning. According to the Abbé Siéyes's alternate plan of nominal abstractions and voluntary expedients to suspend them, all power, all sovereignty, all right originated from and was to be acknowledged in the people; but although it emanated from them, it was not to reside there a moment; for this title of their's to choose their own government having been recognised as an undoubted and indefeasible right (*pro formâ*) it was for fear of any abuse or inconvenience that might result from it, without rhyme or reason, to be instantly taken from them, and made over to a number of persons who were to appoint another set who were to choose their representatives and officers of government for them.

Now all this seems going out of one's way to lay down a plausible theoretical principle merely to overturn it in practice, or to perplex the common practice and routine of society by an idle theoretical principle. If the choice of the government or of the legislature by this intricate and artificial process is ultimately to be very different from what the majority by popular election would have come to; why tantalize them with the mockery of choosing their own governors? If it is substantially the same, why not allow them to exercise their natural and inherent right without a proxy, and without a refinement in policy which is either an impertinence or an injustice? If the people are to be kept in leading-strings, why compliment them with rights which they are unfit to exercise, and why not give to their betters the real management of the state both in appearance and reality? By this lame, contradictory scheme the people would not gain their real friends and favourites as their guardians and attorneys in the government; while the government would be deprived of some of its tried and ablest servants, who might not happen to be included in the lists of *notability*. The whole is a system of evasion and cross-purposes; or it is giving up the essence and vital principle of popular government under a pretence of adhering to the name and forms. In like manner, the Legislative Body, when they met, were not to

discuss or debate upon the laws they were to pass, but were to vote and determine by ballot upon them after hearing the different arguments and objections brought forward by a hundred Tribunes, who were not to originate the laws themselves, but to receive them from a Council of State named by the government. That is to say, those who were to decide upon the different questions and ought to be supposed the wisest and the best judges, were not to give their reasons at all or to influence one another's opinions, but were to be at the mercy of a number of noisy and professed disputants, who were to discuss in their hearing and for their benefit measures, not which they had thought of, and which, having had their source in their own bosoms and reflections, they might be conceived to understand, but which were proposed to them by the government, and which they were to take up as a lawyer does his brief; so that in fact the government, which is always looked upon with suspicion in the representative system, would have the initiative in all laws and enactments, would make the tribunate in a manner its organ; and the legislative or deliberating Council of the nation could only oppose to this lively and formidable battery of eloquence and power the *vis inertia* of gravity and silence.

Again, the government was to be a government and no government. A supreme power was to be

vested in the hands of a Grand Elector, who was to be chosen by the Senate, not accountable to it, and yet removable by it at pleasure; he was to do nothing himself, but to choose others to do every thing for him; he was to have a consul for peace and a consul for war, and each was to be perfectly independent of him and of the other. That is, in every department of the state there was to be power, but then it could do nothing; there was to be liberty, but then the exercise of it was vested in some other person; there was to be independence, but an impossibility of mutual co-operation and concert. A thing was no sooner granted than it was clogged with some impracticable condition; a form was no sooner established than all power of life and motion was taken from it, either from fear of its abuse, or in the sheer spirit of contradiction. Siéyes came last to the last point, the Executive Government, probably expecting there to see an end of his shuffling and nugatory system. This was the capital, the most prominent part of so beautiful a piece of architecture, which he approached with considerable tenderness, but laying prodigious stress upon it. He proposed in this view a Grand Elector for life, to be chosen by the Conservative Senate; to possess a revenue of six millions of livres, with a guard of 3000 men, and to reside in the palace of Versailles; foreign ambassadors were to be accredited to him, and he was

to furnish credentials to the French ambassadors and ministers at foreign courts. All acts of government, all laws, and all judicial proceedings were to be in his name. He was to be the sole representative of the national glory, power, and dignity; he was to nominate two consuls, one for peace, and the other for war; but to these points his influence was to be confined. It is true he was to have the power of removing the consuls and of replacing them by others; but at the same time the Senate was to be entitled, when it should deem such an exercise of power arbitrary or opposed to the national interest, to *merge the Grand Elector.* The effect of this merger was to be equivalent to a removal; the post became vacant; but by way of compensation, the Grand Elector was to have a seat in the Senate for the rest of his life.

Napoleon had said but little in the preceding sittings, as he had no experience in such matters. He could only refer on this subject to Siéyes, who had participated in the formation of the Constitutions of 1791, 1793, and 1795; to Daunou, who was accounted one of the principal framers of the latter; and to about twenty or thirty members of the Committees, who had all distinguished themselves in legislating, and who took the greater interest in the creation of those bodies which were to make the laws, inasmuch as they were to be themselves component parts of them. But the

government concerned himself; he therefore rose to oppose this part of the plan. "The Grand Elector," he said, "if he confine himself strictly to the functions you assign him, will be the shadow, but the mere fleshless shadow of a *Roi fainéant*. And how do you think it possible that any man, either of the smallest talent or honour, would submit to the situation of a fatted hog in a stye with some millions a year at his disposal? If he should choose to abuse his prerogative, you give him absolute power. If, for example, I became Grand Elector, when I appointed the consul for war and the consul for peace, I would say to them, If you nominate a single minister, if you sign a single act without my previous approbation, I will remove you. But you reply, the Senate in its turn will merge the Grand Elector. This is worst of all; nobody at this rate has any guarantee. In another point of view, what will be the situation of these two prime ministers? One will have the ministers of justice, of the interior, of police, of finance, and of the treasury under his control; the other those of the marine, of war, of external relations. The first will be surrounded only by judges, administrators, financiers, men of the long robe; the other only by epaulettes and military men—the one will be wanting money and recruits for his armies, the other will not furnish any. Such a government would be a monstrous chimera, com-

posed of heterogeneous parts, and presenting nothing rational. It is a great mistake to suppose that the shadow of a thing can be of the same use as the thing itself."

Siéyes answered these objections unsatisfactorily. His plan of a Grand Elector (an office which he himself had probably some design of filling) fell to the ground; and he himself was soon after merged in his own theories, with the estate of Crosne voted to him as a national recompence for his many previous services. Having strengthened the Government by taking it into his own hands as Consul, with Cambaceres and Lebrun for his coadjutors, Buonaparte left the representative part of the system to shift for itself, and this was made up of the wreck of Siéyes's Senate, Tribunate, and Legislative Body, which, however, were chosen by the Consuls without waiting for the lists of notability; thus verifying Mr. Burke's sarcasm on the Abbé's Constitutions—"some where the electors choose the representatives, and others where the representatives choose the electors," &c. The Constitution of the year VIII. was published and submitted to the people on the 13th of December, and sanctioned by three millions eleven thousand and seven votes. The new Government was established on the 24th of the same month. Buonaparte thus gained his great object, which was to give unity and vigour to the Government; and which, whether we consider the

demands of his own ambition or the necessities of the state, was perhaps the principal thing. The enemies of the Revolution had prevented it from having a happy and tranquil termination; and all that remained was to take care that they did not exult in their iniquity, and profit by their own wrong. The Consular Government, however arbitrary in its form, or in many of its decisions, was essentially popular in its principles and objects; for it had no other strength to appeal to than the final approbation of the people or of a large part of it. It was founded in no prejudice by which it could brave the opinions and feelings of the whole community; and it must be some time before the head of the Consular or Imperial Government could take upon him to ruin the country like a *Roi fainéant* or as a state-privilege!

During the month of December Buonaparte's health was much shaken. These nightly sittings and long discussions, in which he was forced to listen to so much nonsense, wasted time that was precious to him, yet were nevertheless in a certain degree interesting to him. He remarked that many men who wrote well and were not without eloquence, were yet entirely devoid of solidity of judgment, and argued most miserably. He inferred from hence that there are persons who are gifted by nature with the faculty of writing and expressing their thoughts well, as others are with a genius for

music, painting or sculpture. Public affairs, on the contrary, require deep thought, correct discrimination, and a power of forming conclusions answering to the results of things in reality. Cambaceres, who was chosen Second Consul, was of a noble family in Languedoc, and an able lawyer: Lebrun, the Third Consul, was from Normandy, had formerly been employed by the Chancellor Maupeou in drawing up his decrees, was distinguished for the purity and elegance of his style, and sincerely attached to the Revolution; to which he himself owed all his advantages, his family being originally of the class of peasants.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE CONSULATE.

THE Consuls on leaving St. Cloud, November 10th, 1799, had taken up their residence at the Luxembourg, in the same apartments which had been lately occupied by the Directory. But the new Constitution had raised the Consular power above the other authorities of the state, and it felt itself not sufficiently at ease there to represent the majesty of the French people. The Government, on the 19th of February 1800, after the adoption of the Constitution of the year VIII, proceeded to instal itself at the palace of the Thuilleries; and the First Consul from that time took up his abode there.

The procession left the Luxembourg in carriages, in full costume, with music and a guard. It was not a brilliant display; there were only a few private carriages, the rest were hackney-coaches, having the numbers on them covered over with paper. No sooner had the First Consul arrived at the Thuilleries, than he mounted on horseback and gave a review. Afterwards each of the ministers presented to him the different persons employed in

his department of the state. Thus then we behold the FirstMagistrate of the Republic installed in the palace where every thing still breathed the recollection of its ancient kings. It was just at this moment that the news of the death of Washington was received. He had died on the 14th of the preceding December, at the age of sixty-eight years, at a private country-house in Virginia, having secured the independence of his country as a general, its liberty as a legislator, and its prosperity as a magistrate. What, it may be asked, hindered Buonaparte from imitating his example? Had the Allied troops been removed three thousand miles off on the other side of the Atlantic, had the French been a colony of English settlers, and in France there had been no palace of her ancient kings, there was nothing to prevent it!

The First Consul did not neglect this opportunity of shewing his respect to the character of the hero of American liberty; his death was announced to the Consular Guard and to all the troops of the Republic, in the following order of the day:—"Washington is dead. This great man fought against tyranny; he established the liberty of his country. His memory must always be dear to the French people, as well as to all the free of both worlds, and especially to the French soldiers, who like him and his American troops fight in defence of liberty and equality. In consequence, the

First Consul has ordered, that for the space of ten days black crape shall be hung on all the colours and standards of the Republic."

The first presentation of the diplomatic body took place on the 2d of March. Benezech, counsellor of state, who was charged with the interior regulation of the palace, introduced the foreign ministers into the apartment of the Consuls, where were the several ministers, the counsellors of state, the secretary of state, and the secretary of the Consuls. The Minister of the Interior received them at the entrance of the apartment; the Minister of Foreign Affairs presented them to the First Consul. The diplomatic body at that time consisted of the ambassadors of Spain and of Rome, the ministers of Prussia, of Denmark, of Sweden, of Baden and Hesse-Cassel, and of the ambassadors from the Cisalpine, Batavian, Helvetian, and Ligurian Republics. People had then so high an idea of the dignity of civil employments, and they still regarded the service of the court as so little honourable, that the counsellors of state were somewhat scandalized to see the veteran Minister of the Interior, one of their colleagues, with the usher's rod in his hand, acting the part of master of the ceremonies, and even of *maître-d'hôtel* to the First Consul. Benezech was supple and obliging, but a thoroughly good and honest man, and much more adapted to business than the attendance of the

ante-chamber. There were as yet no titled officers called chamberlains; the aides-de-camp of the First Consul performed the duty; but that savoured too strongly of the General to be of long duration. The ministers and the council of state surrounded the Consuls on public occasions: they formed the whole Government united. But it seemed clear to penetrating observers that the Thuilleries would soon have a regular court and established etiquette, as a temple is nothing without altars and a priesthood.

The order of the receptions was regulated as follows: On the 2d and 17th of each month, the ambassadors; on the 3d day of the décade, the senators and generals; on the 4th, the members of the Legislative Body; on the 6th, the tribunes and the tribunal of cassation were admitted. Every fifth day (of the décade) at noon there was a grand parade. It was a thing quite new to the greater part both of the actors and spectators, this commencement of a court. Each of the Directors had had his own circle of society, in which the simple and unaffected tone of common life prevailed: they were not much frequented. Barras alone had kept up a sort of public drawing-room; but only a fifth part of the power or consequence belonged to him, while the First Consul had the whole to himself. He was severe in the choice of the society of Madame Buonaparte; it was composed, since the

18th of Brumaire, of the wives of the different public functionaries, civil and military; and they formed the first *nucleus* of the court. For them as well as for their husbands the transition had been a little abrupt. The graceful ease and goodness of disposition of Madame Buonaparte reconciled those who were startled at the imposing etiquette of the palace, and above all, by the rank and glory of the First Consul. The Court was then what it ought to be, not numerous but decent. The title of *Madame* was generally given to women at the First Consul's drawing-rooms and in the cards of invitation which were issued—a return to the ancient custom which shortly spread through the rest of the community.

The First Consul being once established at the Thuilleries, it was but natural that he should have a palace in the country corresponding to the one he had in the capital. It was thought that Malmaison, the modest retreat of General Buonaparte, could no longer suit the chief of a great Republic. Among the ancient royal residences in the vicinity of the metropolis, St. Cloud was most conveniently situated. The inhabitants of the place presented an address to the Tribune to offer the choice of the *château* to the First Consul. He on this occasion declared to the commission appointed to make the proposal, "that he would accept of nothing from the people during the term of his magistracy, nor

for a year after its functions had ceased; and that if at a later period they should think fit to apply to him the article of the Constitution which decreed rewards to the warriors who had rendered signal services to the Republic, then he would accept with gratitude the offerings of the people; and that his intention was in the meantime to propose it to the Legislative Body to award recompences to the warriors who had distinguished themselves by their high deeds and their disinterestedness, as the surest way to stifle all the seeds of corruption and to reform the public morals." The petition was therefore simply referred to the Government.

The costumes and the *insignia* of authority underwent an alteration. The Greek and Roman dresses disappeared, and were replaced by military fashions. The First Consul had more the appearance of a general than of a statesman; but along with the boots and sword he wore a coat of the French make, and it was clearly to be seen that every thing tended to the *civil side.* At the head of the acts of Government a vignette had hitherto represented the Republic in the form of a woman seated, dressed after the antique, holding a helm in one hand, and in the other a garland, with the inscription: *French Republic, Sovereignty of the People, Liberty, Equality. Buonaparte First Consul.* Instead of which these words were substituted: *In the name of the French People, the*

French Government. The Sovereignty of the People, Liberty, and Equality were no longer retained.

The first act of Buonaparte on arriving at the Thuilleries had been a review; the court of the palace became the place of rendezvous for the troops. They were not idle parades. Now on foot, now on horseback, the First Consul traversed all the ranks, in order to become acquainted with the officers and men, and to make himself known to them. He entered into the most minute details respecting the equipment, the arming, the exercising, in a word, respecting all the wants of the men and those of the service. As General and Chief Magistrate, he dispensed, in the name of the nation, praise and blame, distinctions and rewards. He thus made the army pass constantly under the observation of the people of the capital, and of the inhabitants of the departments and strangers who happened to be at Paris. This sight excited a strong spirit of emulation among the soldiers of the different corps, and enhanced their dignity and their value in their own eyes. In these imposing displays the nation took a pride in its troops; strangers learned to know and fear them; all the world were struck with admiration of them. The First Consul was here seen to great advantage and in his proper element. He took a real pleasure in remaining for hours in the midst of all this military pomp,

round which an immense multitude crowded and made their acclamations resound, while his ante-chambers and saloons were thronged with courtiers and with distinguished public characters, who waited patiently for the favour of a word, a smile, or even a look. These reviews afforded the First Consul a brilliant opportunity to display before the eyes of the people and the army his indefatigable activity, his superiority in all that related to the military art, the source, the very essence of his glory, and to exercise over all bosoms the irresistible ascendant of power, of energy, of genius, and fortune united in a single individual. Was the day rainy or the sky covered with clouds? Often, as soon as the First Consul appeared, the rain ceased, the clouds were dispersed, the sun shone out: the multitude, always eager for the marvellous; and the courtiers, prodigal of flattery, cried out that he commanded even the elements, or was peculiarly favoured of heaven.

In less than a year a striking change had taken place. Before the 18th of Brumaire, every thing had seemed to announce a speedy dissolution; at present, every thing bore the stamp of public spirit and vigour. On all sides was discernible a lofty emulation in whatever was good, admirable, and great. There was a real desire to establish the new order of things; as at the commencement of the Revolution there had been to overturn the old

one. An approach to the object in view was no longer made by tumult and disorder; a steady hand guided the movement, traced the route, and prevented deviations. When Buonaparte became Consul for life, the Court was put, like his power, upon a regal footing. This was not, however, the affair of a moment. They compiled new codes of etiquette, and consulted the old courtiers and antiquated valets as to any trifling particular; "How ought that to be? how was that managed formerly?" were the questions always asked in the interior of the palace, and a reference was constantly made to the use and practice of the good old times. An anecdote is told as characteristic of the tone that prevailed at this period, that on some occasion the Count of Narbonne having to present a letter to Buonaparte, instead of taking it in his hand, placed it on his hat and advanced with it obsequiously in that position. Buonaparte at first suspected some insult, and asked the meaning of this piece of effeminacy; but being told that "it was always the way in which the Count presented a letter to Louis XVI.," he afterwards always cited the Count of Narbonne as the model of courtesy and politeness. There is nothing incredible in this story; for the greatest strength is not incompatible with the greatest weakness in the same person. Those who wished for the restoration of the old system, which was only a very small number, or those

who were taken with shew and outward appearance, which is always the greater part of mankind, were delighted with this return to frivolity and with the importance attached to trifles.

The change was not effected without a sense of ridicule and awkwardness at first. Those who had been accustomed to the forms, the manners, the conventional phraseology and studied politeness of the old court, were greatly amused with the attempts of the new one to mimic them. It was not long, however, before this defect was remedied by practice, and the Court of the First Consul might pretend in all respects to vie with the most brilliant periods of the monarchy. Here was found united whatever was most distinguished in the different classes of society, in the arts, in the sciences, in commerce, and in the liberal professions. There too were to be met with a crowd of warriors, resplendent in fields of renown, the firm and invincible defenders of the Republic, and some of the most sounding names of the old nobility, who had veiled to the glory with which others had covered it. Youth, grace, beauty lent their charm; and if virtue did not follow in the train, at least there was a greater attention shewn to decorum and propriety of manners than had ever been paid to them under the ancient *régime*. One secret grief and latent cause of unpopularity and complaint against Buonaparte, was his determination to sup-

press the licentiousness of manners that prevailed both before and after the Revolution. He was severe, and even rude to women who endeavoured to attract notice by freedom of dress or behaviour. It was expected that men and their wives should appear in society together—a thing unprecedented, and contrary to all ideas of *bon ton* in the good old times of religion and loyalty. It is true, the Court had formerly taken the lead in vice and profligacy of every kind; and the example which it had set had, as usual, been greedily followed by the other classes of society. Buonaparte thought, by adopting and countenancing a different system, to stem the tide and to bring back a greater severity and sobriety of manners. But perhaps there was too much a tone of authority and arbitrary will in his manner of doing it. Vice is a plant that either grows wild or is easily reared in the hot-bed of fashion; virtue, which is of slower and more difficult growth, can only be engrafted on principle and conviction. Yet notwithstanding this rigid, marble exterior, and public homage to virtue, Buonaparte was constantly assailed by showers of lampoons, of which the writers and readers gratified in the most wanton manner either their political hatred or the pruriency of a depraved imagination. It was in allusion to one of these that Buonaparte said in the Council of State, where it had been canvassed as a subject for legal prosecution, "It contains no-

thing but absurdities. It appears by what is said of me, that the author does even know my physical constitution: he here supposes scenes of gallantry and intrigue, similar to those in the time of Louis XV. I am to be sure very much like those people; is it not so? I am also made to spend enormous sums in my excursions to Malmaison: every body knows how I throw money out of the windows. A violent scene is described between me and Barbé-Marbois (the treasurer), from whom I had demanded fifteen millions for my journey to Lyons, which he refused to give me, whereas it really cost me only fifty thousand francs." The author of this libel, a man of the name of Fouilloux, was arrested, and the list of his subscribers and patrons was seized, among whom were the Citizen Serbelloni, Ambassador from the Italian Republic, the Marquis Luchesini, Ambassador from Prussia, Count Marcoff, the Russian Ambassador, and others, who, having invented and paid for these stories, probably believed them themselves, when they thought the world would receive them for undoubted truths. A crowd of foreigners, who were then at Paris, spread these sort of reports everywhere, and the English and German newspapers were thus supplied with an inexhaustible fund of calumny and abuse.

It was the Marquis Luchesini, mentioned above, who was sent as Ambassador from Prussia in 1802,

and on that occasion harangued the First Consul in Italian, which was thought a very *mal-adroit* piece of flattery for so consummate a courtier. He had been sent previously by the King his master, in the month of October 1800, to compliment Buonaparte on the establishment of the Consular Government. When Monsieur de Luchesini arrived, the First Consul was at Malmaison, and from a balcony surveyed with attention the rich liveries of the lacqueys, and appeared struck with the brilliancy of the orders with which the envoy was decorated. This was remarked by those about him, and he was heard to say, "That has an imposing effect; such things are necessary for the people." That might be true; but in the present case, the head of the people, who envied such finery, was more the dupe of it and more a child than they.

The majority yielded to the stream; there were notwithstanding a few who opposed it, or inwardly repined to see the flower of the talents and spirit of the nation fashioned to a new servitude of idle forms and ceremonies, and the old and ridiculous Court etiquette resumed with more alacrity than it had been laid aside. When this small band of true and sterling patriots and friends of mankind (there might also be a mixture of spleen and jealousy in their motives) compared the First Consul of the year XI. with the First Consul of the year VIII.,

with the General of the Army of Egypt, with Buonaparte, the scourge of royalty at Toulon, on the 13th of Vendemiaire, on the 18th of Fructidor, with the same Buonaparte, rousing the people of Italy from their long slavery by the sound of his victories and with the accents of liberty, and planting other Republics by the side and in aid of that of France, they could not help crying out with some bitterness: "Behold then the end of so many fine discourses, of so many lofty sentiments, of so many glorious exploits! Was it then for this, only to retrace its steps, that the nation launched into a new career, which it bathed with its purest blood? What has become of so many promises, oaths, vows, and hopes? Are we then, after all, no better than revolted slaves, who are doomed to forge again with their own hands the chains which they had broken?"—Well was it when liberty had a voice like the turtle, and could afford to regret the past, and compare its sanguine hopes with their painful disappointment; when all had not been lost, even the right to complain; when the performance might be confronted with the principle, for the principle was not rooted from the earth; when the excesses of liberty, when the abuse of the power it had called forth were the burthen of the song, not its utter extinction, defeat, and ignominy; when, if freedom was lost for a time, its strength and sinews were left, independence, glory, re-

venge, scorn, and defiance heaped on its foes, and when itself had not become a reproach and a scoff among the nations! What would they have said (not the flies who flutter about every new glare or are scattered by every blast, but men of principle and firmness to look back to the past and forward to the future) could they have then foreseen the final issue of all their hopes? They could have said nothing, for men complain only of remediable griefs, and are silent when the right to every good, to think, to feel, to be, is wrested from them!

The First Consul found his residence at the Thuilleries dull, and at the same time without convenience or liberty. He passed the fine weather at Malmaison. Great in himself, in this unpretending retreat he appeared still greater. There, and long after, at St. Cloud, of which he took possession of his own accord, a year after he had capriciously refused it as a free gift from the people, his conversation formed the delight of those who knew him. The evenings passed there were evenings worthy of the Gods. The scene resembled the famed Gardens of Alcinous or some of the enchantments of Ariosto's pen, and is still remembered by those who were admitted to it, as a dream, a gorgeous shadow that has passed from the earth. Buonaparte took the lead in conversation, and it will appear in the course of this work that he had a right to do so. The man laid aside

the ruler, and lost nothing by it. There was that striking union of personal desert and exalted station which is so rarely to be met with; and is as enviable as it is rare. The subjects touched upon were of the most imposing kind; and what a tone they must have received from the speakers! Buonaparte had lost by degrees all the taciturnity and reserve of his youth; his manner had become frank, communicative, unreserved and free in the highest degree. When he had a part to act in public, he did so; but in private, he delighted to throw off all disguise and pretension, and was perfectly natural and simple. His discourse, though generally serious and earnest, had a great attraction, for it was original, profound, characteristic, and full. It was never obscure, feeble, or vague, though often carried to excess; but then it was from the strength of will and conscious power of the speaker. The greatest interest was excited wherever he came. The audience listened to and caught up with avidity his slightest words; and no wonder, when they had an echo through Europe and were almost a law to the world. Though not stiff or pedantic, he gave a preference to the society of men of science, both from the importance of their pursuits, and as they afforded a relief to political topics and feelings. On this account Laplace, Monge, Berthollet, Lacepede, Chaptal were often admitted to long conversations with

him, nor did a distinction so well merited excite any jealousy. Sometimes he relaxed so far as to join in the country-dances in the little balls which were given on Sundays at Malmaison. He acquitted himself but indifferently, embroiled the figure, and always called for the *Monaco*, as the easiest, and the one which he danced the least badly.

The Chief Consul shewed most grace and personal dignity in exercising the troops. He looked well in uniform, and was perfectly at home on these occasions; still in giving his common audiences, there was something imposing about him. He understood the art of making a man six feet high, who was not otherwise disposed to do so, stoop to him, or could assume a lofty port which left the tallest persons no advantage over him. Duroc had given notice that in future the Thuilleries would be open only on the 15th of every month, and the First Consul would give audience at St. Cloud every Sunday after hearing mass. These audiences were very numerous, and lasted several hours. They were composed of cardinals, bishops, senators, counsellors of state, deputies, tribunes, generals, ambassadors, magistrates, private gentlemen and distinguished foreigners, royalists and republicans, nobles and plebeians, whatever there was most conspicuous either among the French or other nations, all confounded together and on a footing of equality. The First

Consul addressed almost every one. Sometimes occasion was taken to introduce private affairs; those shewed most wisdom who confined themselves to merely paying their court.

From the audiences of the First Consul, it was the custom to go to that of Madame Buonaparte. She had the foreign ladies of distinction presented to her. Already the names of Zamoiska, Potowski, Castel-Forte, Dorset, Gordon, Newcastle, Cholmondeley, Dolgorouki, Galitzin were seen on the list; for persons of the highest rank in Europe were proud to do homage to the First Consul and his wife. Three days in the week a dinner was given to twelve or fifteen persons; and on these days Madame Buonaparte saw company in the evening. The circle, at first small, grew more numerous by degrees. There were a few card-tables set out for form's sake; and the First Consul, who generally made his appearance, sometimes sat down at one of them. There was less restraint at Malmaison than at St. Cloud; the etiquette became the stricter with the enlargement of the place. The First Consul did not merely make choice of St. Cloud in preference to Malmaison, as a summer residence; he remained there in the autumn and part of the winter, till the bad weather drove him into Paris. His object was in part by secluding himself here to be less in view, more difficult of access, and to surround himself with

the mysteriousness of greatness. Every thing around him hastened fast to become a copy of Versailles and of all other courts, with a reserve however of certain essential differences.

One thing that formed a strong objection to the morning audiences at St. Cloud, was the mass that preceded them. Many of those who had to attend the First Consul hated the priests; most were indifferent to the worship itself; no one approved this kind of mockery of it. For nothing could be more artificial or theatrical—the actresses of the Opera being regularly hired to sing the praises of God. Neither was there room for three-fourths of the visitors, who formed groups and loitered about in the galleries. The First Consul, mortified at this luke-warmness, had the service performed an hour sooner than usual, saying that "it was to excuse those who had no inclination to attend it."

By degrees, the dresses of the court changed almost entirely. The sword and silk-stockings succeeded to the sabre and military boots. The First Consul, who never appeared but in uniform, had on the celebration of the 14th of July 1801, worn a dress of red Lyons silk, embroidered, but without ruffles and with a black stock. This dress seemed oddly chosen; nevertheless he was complimented upon it, all but the stock. He laughed and said, "There should be always something that has a military look; there is no harm in that."—

Gaudin, Minister of Finance, was one of the first who came to the audience at St. Cloud with his hair in a bag, and with lace. They followed this example by little and little to please the First Consul; but the attempt to return to the old fashion was for some time a real masquerade. One wore a cravat with a full-dress coat, another a stock with a plain coat, a third a bag, a fourth a cue; some had their hair powdered, the greater number were without powder; there were only no wigs. All these trifles were become important affairs. The old-fashioned hair-dressers were at war with the new. Every morning they looked at the head of the First Consul: if he had been once seen with powder, it would have been all over with one of the most healthy and convenient fashions introduced by the Revolution; hair in its natural state would have been exploded. This grave matter was agitated in the discussions of the ushers in waiting; but the First Consul could not make up his mind to this *reaction*, and every one was left at liberty to wear his hair as he liked. It was understood, however, to be more decent and more agreeable to the First Consul to wear powder and the hair tied. He had no objection to making others into puppets and pieces of costume, though he did not choose to become so himself. So amidst all the frippery of outward forms, he retained the same stern simplicity of character

and self-possession. Foreigners in general, and particularly the English, who had their hair cropped and went abroad without powder, when they appeared at court powdered their heads and fastened a bag to the collar of their coats.

The women who inclined to the ancient *régime* out of vanity and love of change, were notwithstanding the declared enemies of powder: they had their reasons. They trembled that the reform of dress should reach them, and that they might finish with large hoop-petticoats, after beginning with hind-curls and *toupets*. They were not unfounded in these conjectures, for the dowagers of the court of Louis XVI. maintained that no one could have the court-air with the Greek and Roman dresses, and that the corruption of manners was to be dated from heads *à-la-Titus*, and drapery displaying the shape. Madame Buonaparte was at the head of the opposition on this occasion: it belonged to the most graceful and elegant woman of the court to defend taste and good sense against the inroads of prescriptive barbarism. She hated every kind of restraint and ostentation. She often repeated her favourite saying: "How all this fatigues and annoys me! I have not a moment to myself. I was meant to be the wife of a labourer!" This simplicity of character and feeling was not confined to dress: she manifested the same unaffected modesty and good sense in resisting

the encroachments of pomp and power; and in parting with her, Buonaparte lost his better genius. In this, it has been said, she had her own private ends to answer; but if her conduct had not also arisen from her natural character and from a regard to others, she would have been dazzled by the immediate grandeur, and would have overlooked remote and possible consequences. The heart gives better counsel than the head; for true friendship quickens our sense of the real interests of those we love.

Buonaparte seldom entered into long conversations with women; nor did the severity of his character easily descend to gallantry. There were some to whom he took an aversion, occasionally with reason, and often with no other reason than that they had displeased him. He sometimes paid them awkward compliments on their dress or their adventures; it was one way of censuring their manners. There was now and then a talk of his attachment to some women of the court; but these were caprices of the moment, and those to whom he shewed most partiality had no influence over him, at least in state-affairs. He was really fond of no one but Josephine, notwithstanding the disproportion of years between them. Towards her he was now jealous and severe, now tender and confiding. She answered with her whole heart to the fondness of her husband; she supported his

humours patiently, but could never reconcile herself to his infidelities. On the whole, they lived very happily together. He was persuaded that he owed his happiness to her, and she felt in the same manner towards him. She had gone to drink the waters of Plombieres in Messidor, in the year X: he grew weary of her absence, and wrote her the most affectionate letters. When she returned, he went part of the way to meet her, loaded her with caresses, and brought her back in triumph to Malmaison.

In courts governed by women, the prevailing tone is to be intriguing, light, and vain. Something worse than all this was to be found in the history of the past. The greater part of those who formed the court of the First Consul not having been early fashioned in a frivolous school of manners, discovered their natural disposition, which was moral and good. Buonaparte wished for a certain decorum and gravity tempered with elegance, politeness, and grace: Madame Buonaparte set an example of all this. It was no longer the custom for men to boast of their excesses or to hold up their vices to admiration as models of courtly refinement and of the *savoir vivre*. The Revolution had undoubtedly tended to improve the morals: but should the prejudiced or ill-informed be disposed to dispute this, they cannot deny that at least it had produced

a greater deference to public opinion and attention to appearances. The First Consul more than once carried his solicitude on this point to severity. He had no children of his own, but shewed every mark of attention and kindness to those of his wife by her former marriage. They justified his regard by their excellent qualities and their attachment. Eugene Beauharnais was full of honour, faithful, and brave; Hortense was mild, amiable, and affectionate. By uniting her in marriage to his brother Louis, the First Consul thought to reconcile his political views with the happiness of his step-daughter. In the midst of the reveries which floated in his mind respecting the stability and foundation of his dynasty, he had little hope of heirs direct, and this marriage promised to supply them collaterally. Neither Lucien nor Joseph Buonaparte at all relished the match. Hortense became the mother of a boy. Rumours without any foundation, and quite absurd to those who knew any thing of the persons, were spread abroad on this occasion. This child was pointed out by public opinion as the presumptive heir to the Consular Power; but he died a few years after, to the great mortification and chagrin of Buonaparte, who wished to adopt him as his successor. In the course of these pages will be seen his opinions and arguments on the subject of the law proposed respecting adoption;

and the extravagance and almost frenzy to which he worked himself up in endeavouring by a mere *fiat* of the will to place the child of adoption in the same degree of proximity as the child *of the same blood and bone,* will prove to a demonstration to all those who have the least insight into character or human nature, that he was not, as had been grossly pretended, the father of the child by a spurious connexion.

The First Consul could not set up pretensions to be a perfect equestrian, though on horseback he was daring to imprudence. Nor could it be said of him, according to the poet, that he "excelled in guiding a chariot to the goal." * One day he was resolved to display his skill in the park at St. Cloud, by driving a calash four-in-hand, in which were Madame Buonaparte, her daughter, Madame Duroc, Joseph Buonaparte, and the Consul Cambacères. At the gate which separates the garden from the park, he struck against a post, lost his balance, and was thrown off to a considerable distance. He strove to rise, fell down again, and lost his recollection. The horses in the mean time, which had run away with the carriage, were stopped, and the ladies were lifted out almost ready to faint. With some difficulty the First Consul came to himself, and continued the ride, but inside the carriage. He

* "Il excelle à conduire un char dans la carrière."

had received a slight contusion on the chin, and the right wrist had been a little hurt. On returning home, he said, "I believe every one ought to keep to his own profession." He had Laplace, Monge, and Berthollet to dine with him. He conversed with them the whole evening, as if nothing had happened. Nevertheless, he owned that he never thought himself so near death as at this moment. Madame Buonaparte continued extremely ill, and said in the course of the evening, "At the instant of his fall, Buonaparte had his eyes turned inward, and I thought he was dead. He has promised never to run the same risk again. He has often been blamed for his extreme carelessness on horseback; he frightens every one who accompanies him. Corvisart has been called in; he did not think it necessary to let blood. The First Consul wishes that this accident should not be talked of."

A like accident is related to have happened to Oliver Cromwell. He had received as a present from a German prince, a set of six horses, remarkable for their beauty and swiftness. Having gone with his secretary, Thurloe, to take a ride in Hyde Park, in a light carriage drawn by these horses, he took it into his head to drive them himself, not thinking it would be more difficult to manage half a dozen horses than to govern three kingdoms. But the horses, spirited and untractable

under the hand of their new driver, grew restive and ran away with the carriage, which was soon overturned. In his fall, a pistol which Cromwell had about him went off, without wounding him. The Protector was taken up, stunned and bruised with his fall, but less hurt than Thurloe.—If this is any thing more than a mere casual coincidence, it might seem as if usurpers, or those who have seized the reins of government into their own hands, have an ambition to be charioteers, where there is a sense of power, and of difficulty and dexterity in directing it. Legitimate rulers, from Nimrod downwards, have been remarked to have a passion for hunting, where they are carried along by a violent borrowed impulse and seem like the natural lords of the creation.

CHAPTER XXV.

DIFFERENT POLITICAL PROJECTS AGITATED IN THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

We have hitherto chiefly seen Buonaparte either at the head of armies, or acting in public with the *éclat*, the authority, and sense of responsibility, which his situation implied. A work of great authenticity, candour, and ability, lately published, enables us at present to view him in an intellectual undress, without disguise or parade, with his thoughts rising to his lips as they rose in his mind, with his projects half formed and growing to maturity, and contending with his confidential friends and counsellors in the most perfect freedom and in downright earnest, about the reasons and propriety of their adoption or rejection. Few persons in history, who have acted a conspicuous part in the world, would bear this mental exposure and comparison so well. There is no loss, but rather an increase of the idea of sterling sense and talent; nor is there much abatement of striking effect. It is like a fine portrait after a number of vile caricatures. There is a masterly display of inexhaustible activity, vigour, and subtlety, joined with great singularity, simplicity, and even *naïveté*. There

are some touches so dramatic as to lay open the whole secret of his conduct, and to shew that his greatness or his weaknesses, his good or evil fortune, were not in his own power, but a consequence of the inbred and invincible bias of his character. He formed in this respect a species by himself, utterly distinct from modern effeminacy or European civilization. There is an adust fibre, a heat of blood evidently borrowed from the East. He was a Tamerlane or Gengis Khan, dropped not only in the vortex of the Revolution, which was not amiss, but in the centre of Paris, the most unfortunate situation into which a great man could fall.

I shall throw together in this chapter and the following, his opinions and arguments on the Lists of Notability, the Legion of Honour, the *Concordat*, Schools, the Colonies, and the Law of Divorce, which will a little anticipate the order of time; but will, I hope, decide the reader's judgment of the real dimensions and structure of his mind, and serve to explain and open out his political views and principles. I shall also take this opportunity to make some remarks and enter a protest of my own on these subjects.

The First Consul shewed little partiality to the Lists of Notability, which were brought forward in the Council of State (14th Pluviose, year IX.) and which were designed to point out by popular vote 5000 or 6000 individuals, from whom all public

officers were to be chosen, and the Tribunate and Legislative Body were to be regularly recruited by the Senate. This was one of the complicated and artificial provisions of Siéyes's patch-work Constitution. Emmery, one of the members of the Council, said that the lists were condemned by public opinion, because they deprived the greater number of citizens of that which was the most flattering result of the French Revolution, their immediate eligibility to all public offices and honours. The First Consul declared that the Institution was altogether bad; it was an absurd and spurious product of *ideology*. "Fifty men, met together in a desperate crisis, have no right to annul the rights of the people. Nevertheless, detestable as the Institution is, it is a part of the Constitution; it is our business to execute it, in that we do our duty and shew our good-will." Buonaparte was friendly to liberty, except when his own person was concerned. Still he listened to the arguments in favour of this measure, which was finally carried. Rœderer, who brought the measure forward, saw in the Lists of Notability a step towards his favourite projects of hereditary succession and aristocracy. The new nobility was to proceed from the same egg. Mathieu Dumas was against the Lists, because he did not want a nobility of the Revolution, but was wholly devoted to the ancient *noblesse*.

The Legion of Honour.—At the sitting of the

Council of State of the 14th of Floreal, year X., the First Consul desired Rœderer to read aloud the project for the establishment of the Legion of Honour; and after the reading, he explained the motives for it.

"The actual system of military rewards," he observed, "is not well regulated. The 87th article of the Constitution provides, indeed, national recompences for military men, but without specifying the way. A decree has been passed to authorise the distribution of arms of honour, which implies double pay, and occasions a considerable expence. There are arms of honour with an augmentation, others without any remuneration. It is a system of confusion, one does not know what it is. Besides, it is necessary to give a direction to the spirit of the army, and above all, to sustain it. What actually supports it is the notion among the military that they fill the place of the former nobles. The project in question gives a greater degree of consistency to the system of rewards, it forms a whole; it is a commencement of the organization of the nation." Mathieu Dumas read a memoir in support of the proposed Institution. He objected to the plan, inasmuch as it admitted mere citizens into the Legion of Honour. He wished it to be composed entirely of the military, in order to maintain this spirit in the nation and in the army. Honour and martial glory had been regularly on the

decline since the abolition of the feudal system, which had given the precedency to the soldier. Such was the idea he developed. He concluded by insisting that no citizen should be admitted into the Legion of Honour, without at least being able to prove that he had complied with the laws on the Conscription.

The First Consul.—"These notions might have held good in the time of the feudal system and of chivalry, or when the Gauls were conquered by the Franks. The nation was enslaved: the conquerors alone were free; they were every thing, they were so as being soldiers. Then the first quality of a general or of a chief was bodily strength. So Clovis, Charlemagne were the strongest and most active men in their armies: they alone were equal singly to a number of soldiers, to a battalion; that was what ensured them obedience and respect. It was a consequence of the mode of warfare practised at the time. The knights fought hand to hand; force and address decided the victory. But when the military system changed, when disciplined troops, the Macedonian phalanx, large masses succeeded to the fashion of single combat between the knights, it was quite another thing; it was no longer individual strength which determined the fate of battles, but science, masterly *coup-d'œil*, and so on. One may see the proofs of this in what took place at the battles of Agincourt, Cressy, and

Poictiers. King John and his knights gave way before the Gascon phalanxes, as the troops of Darius had done before the Macedonian. This is the reason why no other power could stop the victorious march of the Roman legions.

"The alteration then in the military system, and not the abolition of the feudal system, would unavoidably modify the qualifications required in a general. Not to say that the feudal system was abolished by the kings themselves, to shake off the yoke of a sullen and turbulent nobility. They enfranchised the commons, and had battalions raised from among the people. The martial spirit, instead of being confined to some thousands of Franks, extended to all the Gauls. It was not weakened by this circumstance; on the contrary, it acquired greater strength. It was no longer exclusive, founded solely on individual force and violence, but on social qualities. The discovery of gunpowder had also a prodigious influence on the changes in the military system, and on all the consequences it drew after it. Since that period, what is it that constitutes the superiority of a general? His mental qualities, his *coup-d'œil*, calculation, quickness, his administrative resources, eloquence, not that of the advocate, but that which suits the head of an army, and finally the knowledge of mankind: all this belongs to the civil order. It is not at present a man six feet three inches high who will do the greatest

things. If it sufficed in order to be a general to have strength and courage, every soldier might pretend to the command. The general who succeeds in the greatest undertakings is the one who combines the greatest number of the above qualities. It is from his being thought to possess more understanding that the soldiers obey and respect him. It is necessary to hear them talk in the bivouacs: they esteem a leader who knows how to form a right judgment much more than one who merely shews the greatest bravery; not that the common soldier does not value bravery, for he would despise a general who was without it. Murad-Bey was the strongest and most expert of all the Mamelukes; without that he would not have been Bey. When he saw me, he had no conception how I could command my troops; nor did he comprehend it till he understood our system of warfare. The Mamelukes fought like the knights of old, body opposed to body and without any order, which was the reason that we beat them. If we had destroyed the Mamelukes, freed Egypt, and formed battalions of the inhabitants, the martial spirit would not have been annihilated; its force would on the contrary have been rendered more considerable. In all places, brute force yields to moral qualities. The bayonet bows down before the priest who speaks in the name of heaven, or before the man who can make good a superiority in knowledge. I

have told military men, who had their doubts on this subject, that a military government would never do in France unless the nation had been first brutalised by fifty years of ignorance. All such attempts will fail, and their authors will fall victims to them. It is not as General that I govern, but because the people think that I have some civil qualifications proper to government: if they were not of this opinion, the Government could not stand. I knew well what I did when, at the head of the army, I took the title of a member of the Institute: I felt sure of not being mistaken even by the lowest drummer in the army.

"It is wrong to argue from the barbarous ages to the present times. We amount to thirty millions of men connected together by knowledge, interest, commerce, and language. Three or four hundred thousand military are nothing compared with this mass. Besides that the general commands only by his civil qualities, from the time that he is no longer on duty, he returns into the civil order. The soldiers themselves are the sons of citizens. The army is a part of the nation. If we consider the military abstractedly from all these relations, we shall soon be convinced that they know no other law but force; that they refer every thing to it, that they see only that. The citizen, on the other hand, recognises only the general good. The characteristic of the soldier is to will all despoti-

cally; that of the citizen is to submit every thing to discussion, to truth, to reason. These have their different prisms, and are often mixed up with error, but still discussion produces light. I have no hesitation then in thinking, that as to the question of precedence, it belongs incontestably to the civil character. If we were to distinguish however into military and civil, this would be to establish two orders in the state, while there is but one nation. If honours were conferred only on the military, this preference would be still worse, for the nation would be no longer any thing."

These sentiments, sustained by a force of eloquence and reasoning not at all common, were shared by the great majority of the Council composed of civilians, and had an immense weight in the mouth of the chief of the Government, of the first General of the army. Dumas felt no temptation to reply. No one took up the question. It seemed as if there was an apprehension of weakening the impression made by this discourse; and the First Consul broke up the sitting in order to leave the impression entire. Nothing had so far been said on the most delicate part of the question, the utility or disadvantages of the Institution itself. The subject was renewed in the sitting of the 18th. The opponents of the project did not set their faces against every kind of reward and distinction. The Legislative Assemblies had at different times de-

creed them; but the present institution was regarded as *an order,* and this was held to be contrary to the spirit of equality, the most essential characteristic of the French Republic. An allusion to the Greeks and Romans also escaped some of the speakers.

Berlier said: " The proposed order leads to aristocracy; crosses and ribbons are the child's playthings of monarchy. I shall not appeal to the example of the Romans; there existed among them patricians and plebeians. This had nothing to do with a system of honorary rewards. It was a political institution, a division of classes which might have its advantages as well as inconveniences. The citizens were classed according to their birth, and not with reference to their services. Honours and national recompences were transient distinctions, made no change in the rank of the individual, and did not form a separate class of those who had entitled themselves to them. For the rest, we have abolished ranks and have no wish to restore them. The magistracies and public employments ought, in a Republic to be the highest rewards of services, of talents, and of virtue." Berlier then refuted the opinion of Dumas.

The First Consul, in reply to Berlier, and more particularly to those who had cited the ancients as models, said:—

" They are always talking to us of the Romans;

it is not a little strange that, in order to set aside social distinctions, we should be referred to the example of a people among whom they existed in the most marked manner. Is this shewing an acquaintance with history? The Romans had patricians, knights, citizens, and slaves. They had moreover for each class divers costumes, and different manners. They decreed as recompences all sorts of distinctions; names which recalled the particular service, mural crowns, public triumphs. They employed even the sanction of superstition. Take away the religion of Rome, and you leave nothing standing. When this noble band of patricians lost its influence, Rome was torn in pieces; the people were the vilest rabble. You then saw the fury of Marius, the proscriptions of Sylla, and afterwards the Emperors. In like manner, they always cite Brutus as the enemy of tyrants. Be it so; but in fact Brutus was no better than an aristocrat: he killed Cæsar for no other reason than because Cæsar wanted to diminish the authority of the Senate, in order to increase that of the people. Such is the manner in which ignorance or party-spirit quotes history.

"I defy any one to point out a republic, ancient or modern, in which there is no distinction of ranks.* They call all that *child's rattles:* be it so! it is with

* Is not America an instance? Was not France?

children's rattles that men are led. I would not say that to a tribune; but in a council of wise men and statesmen one ought to speak out. I do not believe that the French people love *liberty* and *equality*. The French character has not been changed by ten years of revolution; they are still what their ancestors the Gauls were, vain and light. They are susceptible but of one sentiment, *honour; it is* right then to afford nourishment to this sentiment, and to allow of distinctions. Observe how the people bow before the decorations of foreigners; the latter have been surprised themselves at the effect, and take care never to appear without them.

"Voltaire calls the common soldiers so many *Alexanders at five sous a day*. He was right; it is just so. Do you imagine you can make men fight by reasoning? Never. It is only fit for the student in his closet. You must bribe the soldier with glory, distinction, rewards. The armies of the Republic have done wonders, because they were composed of the sons of peasants and of substantial farmers, and not of the mere rabble; because the officers had taken the situations of those of the ancient *régime*, but also through a sentiment of honour. It was on the same principle that the armies of Louis XIV. performed such great things.*

* What a desire there seems to be here and everywhere to neutralise the supposed influence of the Revolution, and to separate liberty from glory as its natural offspring! In the ad-

People may, if they please, call the project *an order*; names do not alter the nature of things." [Yet what is the thing itself but a *name?*]. "But to come to the point; during ten years there has been a talk of institutions: what has been done? Nothing. The time was not arrived. It was thought a happy expedient to assemble the people in the churches, there to shiver with cold in hearing the laws recited, in perusing and studying their contents. It is not a very amusing employment even for those whose business it is to execute them; how then could the people be expected to take an interest in such an occupation? I know well enough that if we place ourselves in the skull-cap that encloses the ten years of the Revolution, we shall in that point of view find that the plan is good for nothing; but if we place ourselves after the Revolution, and admit the actual necessity we are under of organising the nation, we shall think differently. All has been overturned; we want at present to build up again. There is a Government, with certain powers; as to all the rest of the nation, what is it but grains of sand? We have in the midst of us * the remains of the old privileged classes, connected by principles and interests, and knowing well what it is they want. I can count our

dresses to the army of Italy, he said, "None but the Republican soldiers can do all this!"

* Was it not owing to the French Consul that it was so?

enemies. But as to ourselves, we are scattered, without system, without union, without contact. As long as I remain, I can answer for the Republic; but we must provide for the future. Do you suppose that the Republic is definitively established? It would be a gross mistake. We have it in our power to achieve this object, but we have not yet done it, nor shall we ever succeed in it, if we do not, as a foundation, cast some blocks of granite on the soil of France. Do you suppose we can reckon upon the people? They cry indifferently, *Vive le Roi*, *vive la Ligue!* It is then necessary to give them a direction, and to have instruments for that purpose. In the war of La Vendée, I have seen forty men govern a department; it is of this system that we ought to avail ourselves. In fine, it is agreed that we have need of some kind of institutions: if this is not approved of, let some other be proposed. I do not pretend that it alone will save the State, but it will do its part."

The Second Consul (Cambaceres) defended the project, and applied himself principally to shew that the Constitution did not disallow of honorary distinctions. Portalis followed on the same side, and developed the principles laid down by J. J. Rousseau on the influence and the importance of signs. The plan was discussed in another sitting of the Council, at which the First Consul was not present. He presided over that of the 24th of the

month. He led the discussion towards the drawing up and matters of detail, as if the basis had been adopted; he did not put it to the vote, and all at once proposed the question whether it would be proper to send it to the Legislative Body, considering the short time the session had to last.

Thibaudeau. "It is a law of great importance and a system diametrically opposed to the principles professed during the Revolution. The abolition of the distinctions of rank did not take place in those disastrous times which reflect so much discredit even on the best things. The decree was passed by the Constituent Assembly, at one of the epochs the most honourable to the Revolution. The nation, it is true, is profoundly imbued with the sentiment of *honour;* but it is this very sentiment that renders the idea of *equality* above all things dear to it. It was these two motives, combined with the love of liberty, of independence, and of country, that led the first armies of the Republic to victory. I am not convinced that with the Legion of Honour they would have performed greater things. Considered as a guarantee for the Revolution, the plan appears to me to militate against its object; and as an intermediate body, to flow from a principle inapplicable to representative government. I am afraid lest the fondness for ribbons should weaken the sentiments of duty and even of honour, instead of expanding and strength-

ening them. I respect the reasons which have been developed in the course of the discussion in favour of the project; they are imposing; but I own I still entertain some doubts. It is desirable that so important an institution should not be established without the assent, well pronounced and understood, of the principal bodies of the State and of the nation. The session of the Legislative Body will end in two or three days: is it right then to refer to it just now the project of a law which requires the most serious reflection? I think not. I foresee that it will meet with a lively opposition. It seems to me advisable to adjourn the question."

Portalis, Dumas, Rœderer opposed the adjournment: the First Consul then put it to the vote; it was lost by fourteen voices against ten. Lacuée, Emmery, Berlier, Berenger, Thibaudeau, Jolivet, Defermon, Cretet, and Réal voted for the adjournment because they were against the project. It was carried up, on the 25th, to the Legislative Body. Rœderer prefaced it with a brief recapitulation of the objects. He said, "It is an institution intended in aid of all the laws of the Republic, and which should serve to consolidate the Revolution. It confers on military as well as civil services the reward of patriotism which they have so well merited. It blends them in the same glory, as the nation does not distinguish them in its gratitude. By a common distinction it unites men

already united by honourable recollections; it opens a friendly intercourse between those who are already disposed to esteem one another. It places under the shelter of their responsibility and their oaths the laws in favour of equality, liberty, and property. It effaces aristocratic distinctions which placed hereditary glory before that which was acquired, and the descendants of great men before the great men themselves. It is a moral distinction which adds force and activity to that lever of honour which so powerfully impels the French nation. It is a politic institution which establishes in the community intermediate bodies, through which the acts of power are laid before public opinion with fidelity and candour, and through which public opinion can reascend to instruct power. It is a military institution which will allure into the army that portion of the youth of the country, which otherwise it would perhaps be difficult to rouse from the indolence which is the companion of prosperous circumstances. Finally, it is the creation of a new species of money of a very different value from that which issues from the public mint; a money of which the standard is unimpeachable and the mine inexhaustible, since it has its source in the national honour; a money which can alone become the equivalent of actions regarded as superior to all other recompence."

Lucien Buonaparte, as reporter to the commission of the Tribunate, proposed the adoption

of the new law. Savoye-Rollin combated it in a discourse full of sound principles and facts, and which produced a strong sensation. Chauvelin followed up the system of attack by a declaration equally well reasoned. These were the principal objections: That the Legion of Honour contains in itself all the elements on which hereditary nobility has been founded in all ages; that it implies exclusive qualifications, powers, honours, titles, and fixed revenue; that nobility has rarely commenced with so many advantages; that it is not safe to rely on the progress of knowledge and the difference of the times, the human heart being always the same; that the same opportunities make men fall into the same errors and indulge in the same propensities; that the Legion of Honour will forthwith revive prejudices but half-extinguished, and received in all the rest of Europe, and that these prejudices will serve to fortify the influence of the military and aristocratical ideas which have always emanated from it, and will introduce a spirit of classes instead of the spirit of the public good; that under pretence of effacing the old nobility, the Legion of Honour will originate a new one and strongly reinforce the old; that as an intermediate corps, it is at best a superfluity, intermediate bodies being of some benefit in despotic states, but that under a representative government and among a people suffi-

ciently happy to enjoy a public discussion of its laws and measures, the true and only intermediate bodies between the people and the government are the constituted authorities; in a word that the proposed institution is contrary to the spirit and principles of the Republic, and to the letter of the Constitution.

Freville defended the project, and Lucien Buonaparte replied to his antagonists with a great deal of youthful presumption. Confident in the ties which attached him to the First Consul, he attributed criminal intentions to those who differed with him, charged them with designs against the Government, spoke of the indignation which he felt, and discharged a part of his spleen on the nation itself which he attempted to degrade by the epithet *pitiable*. The indiscretion of the speaker raised up a great number of enemies to the project. It was carried only by a majority of 56 voices against 38.

The subject was brought forward in the Legislative Body; but there it met with no opposition. The three Government orators, and the three orators of the Tribune, charged solely to defend the project, accumulated every possible argument and excuse in its favour. The discussion was terminated by an allusion made by Dumas to a passage of the Roman History relative to Marcus Claudius Marcellus who was called the *Sword of*

Rome. "Well then," exclaimed the orator, "*our* Marcellus, *our* Consul, on whom the people are at this moment about to confer the magistracy for life, he who protected the arts and sciences in the midst of the horrors of war, who under the wings of victory made them rear their heads in Egypt, in their first cradle, whence the Greeks and Archimedes borrowed them, in fine our Sword of France proposes it to you, the high-priests of the law, to erect a double temple to honour and to virtue." The said pontiffs voted on the question; and in spite of all that eloquence could suggest to gain their suffrages, the Legion of Honour was sanctioned only by 166 voices against 110. A triumph so sharply contested and hardly extorted from two bodies which had just undergone a purification, did not greatly flatter the First Consul. No measure of the Consulate met with a warmer opposition. One of the Council said to him, "You see that those among the Counsellors of State who voted for the adjournment had some reason. So strong an opposition is always a thing to be avoided." He replied, "True; it would have been better to have waited. Sufficient time was not given. The matter was not so urgent. Besides, the orators who defended the measure did not give good reasons for it."

The grand objection that might be made to the institution of the Legion of Honour, considered

not as a mere pretext and stepping-stone to the re-establishment of hereditary nobility, which merges "acquired glory in that which is borrowed," and all talent and virtue in birth and rank, but as a kind of rival to this and an order of personal merit, is that there can be no order of personal merit. 1. Titles and external marks of distinction should be confined to represent external advantages only: there they have an appropriate meaning and effect (whether good or bad, is another question). A coronet on a coach speaks a plain and intelligible language; for every one knows by this that the ancestors of the person who owns it were persons of rank and distinction as much as the carriage itself shews that he is rich. But there can be no outward and visible sign of an inward and invisible grace; for the question of real desert is one which is always left reserved in the human breast, and a bit of red ribbon in the button-hole does not alter our opinion in this respect. We may bow down to the advantages actually possessed by others, as we may wish that we ourselves had them; but no one willingly acknowledges a superiority in personal worth over himself or would give up his personal identity, however gladly he might change places with another. Again, a man may wear a medal to imply that he was in a certain battle, or a particular dress to shew he belongs to a certain society or profession

—*that* is specific and positive; but no man can wear a badge which says, 'I am a better man than you who do not wear it;" for this is a thing that does not properly admit of proof, and that no one grants as a voluntary concession. As a mere assumption on the part of the individual, it is an impertinence; as a licence from government, it implies a degree of servility and a sense of inferiority in others which is contrary to the principles of equality and reason. Instead of thinking more of the individuals who thus court distinction without any thing to warrant it (unlike outward expence and magnificence, which carry their credentials along with them and impose on the imagination, if not on the understanding) you think less of them; and virtue and merit are in the end reduced to a piece of red ribbon, which is made their inadequate symbol. If a man of merit looks meanly in the street, you cannot say to the passengers, "Respect this man;" they will rather learn to despise personal merit which is not corroborated by personal appearance. It is a translation from one language to another; and all things suffer by translation. 2. It is true, the language of signs, according to Rousseau, is a powerful one; but it has more or less influence according to times and circumstances, and the insisting upon it in preference is a recurrence to the ages of barbarism. The natural tendency of

the human mind is (as already observed) from the concrete to the abstract. Who would now resort to the Egyptian hieroglyphics, though these might have had their advantages? The streets of Paris and London were at one time stuffed with signs over every shop-door, which are now taken down by common consent. They were useful and even necessary when scarcely any one could read, and must have afforded great delight and amusement to the imagination, before the progress of the fine arts had improved and directed the public taste. So a higher and more abstracted standard of morals and of personal merit, connected with the progress of knowledge and inquiry, supersedes the use and value of personal badges, and of a more gross and material language. A nobleman or gentleman was right in wearing a sword and an embroidered dress when from the coarseness of manners he was liable to be jostled or knocked down without it; but the police has removed the danger of this, and he now aims at distinction by other means than the mere admiration which his own finery or the rich livery of his footmen might excite. As a change has taken place in the art of war, by which skill and science have prevailed over brute force, and the mind over the body, so a proportionable change has taken place in the intercourse of peace, by which conversation and behaviour are more sought after than dress and equi-

page. To revert to the old-fashioned tinsel and Gothic forms is to tread back our steps instead of advancing with the spirit of the age. There is no occasion to affect distinction by slovenliness and indecency as in the times of *sansculottism*; but neither will external frippery and an appeal to the senses ever regain their influence in the eyes of others, unless they were as formerly the sole proofs of intelligence or power, and were seconded as formerly by the fear and ignorance of the multitude. 3. It is drawing a line where none can properly be drawn. Buonaparte was blamed for giving the cross of the Legion of Honour to Crescentini the singer. But was the exclusion to extend to musical composers as well as singers, to poets as well as players? There could be no rule laid down in the case. What depends on opinion must be left to opinion, the only scale fine enough to weigh the fluctuating and evanescent pretensions to public favour. It is true, the theatrical profession labours under an unjust stigma in France, having of old incurred the *odium theologicum*; and Buonaparte wished to remove this stigma, and to give it a place in public estimation corresponding to that which it holds in public admiration. There was an evident and ill-natured discordancy which he wished to do away with. But he could not do it. The Legion of Honour would only have got laughed at if he had persisted in the attempt: there is no forcing opinion. Honour can only be the echo of opinion; or the

utmost that it can do is to lend its stamp to fugitive esteem, to the dictates of prejudice or the accidents of fortune, which instead of being confirmed and sanctioned by authority, ought to be corrected and effaced by time and reason.—The whole is false mathematics, an attempt to square the circle. Buonaparte wished however to model this institution on as broad and liberal a scale as possible; and what he says on the subject in another place shews equal sense and feeling.

"No comedian ever received the decoration of the Legion of Honour. Are Gretry, Paesiello, Mehul, and Le Sueur, our most celebrated composers, to be compared to singers? Must the proscription be extended to David, Gros, Vernet, Renaud, and Robert Lefebre, our most eminent painters; and even to Lagrange, La Place, Berthollet, Monge, Vauquelin, Chaptal, Guyton de Morveau, Jouy, Baour Lormian, Fontanes, Sismondi, and Guinguené? The French soldier must entertain sentiments highly unworthy of him, before a decoration worn by such men can on that account lose any part of its value in his eyes. If the Legion of Honour were not the recompence of civil as well as military services, it would cease to be the Legion of Honour. It would be a strange piece of presumption indeed in the military, to pretend that honours should be paid to them only. Soldiers who knew not how to read or write, were proud of wearing, in recompence for the blood they had

shed, the same decoration as was given to distinguished talents in civil life; and on the other hand, the latter attached a greater value to this reward of their labours, because it was the reward of the brave. But then Crescentini? It is true that in a moment of enthusiasm, just after hearing the fine scenes of Romeo and Juliet, the Emperor gave him the cross of the Iron Crown. Crescentini, however, was of good birth; he belonged to the worthy citizens of Bologna, *a city so dear to Napoleon's heart.* He thought it would please the Italians, but was mistaken; ridicule attacked the transaction: had it been approved by public opinion, he would have given the cross of the Legion of Honour to Talma, St. Prix, Fleury, Grandmenil, Lais, Gardel, and Elleviou: he refrained from doing so out of consideration for the weakness and prejudices of the age, and he was in the wrong. The Legion of Honour was the reversion of every one who was an honour to his country, stood at the head of his profession, and contributed to the national prosperity and glory. Some officers were dissatisfied, because the decoration of the Legion of Honour was alike for officers and soldiers. But if ever it cease to be the recompence of the lowest class of the military, and a medal be instituted through aristocratical feelings to reward the mere soldier, or if ever the civil order be deprived of it, it will cease to be the Legion of Honour."

CHAPTER XXVI.

COLONIES—ADOPTION, &c.

The Council of State had to discuss a project for establishing a board of agriculture in the West India Colonies. Truguet opposed the plan as dangerous. "It is the colonists," he observed, "who have occasioned all the trouble in the colonies: it is necessary to govern them with severity and vigour. Cultivation will gain nothing by these boards, but they will harass the agents of Government."

The First Consul.—"Every establishment under a feeble Government is liable to become dangerous; but it is to be recollected that the colonists are French: they have the same character and sense of their rights; they cannot be treated as slaves. It would be necessary for that purpose to deprive them of the privilege of speaking, thinking, and writing. They have no representatives in the Legislature; the Constitution with just reason disallows of it: at least then they ought to have some means of appealing to the Government, of making known their wants, and of stating their grievances. If a plan can be pointed out, which gives less im-

portance to the colonists, I am willing to adopt it; but I do not see how it is possible to contrive one with less influence, and that is perhaps its fault. Doubtless, it is proper to govern the colonies with energy; but there is no energy without justice. To this end it is indispensable that the Government should be informed of every thing, and that it should hear the parties concerned; for it is not sufficient to be just, merely to do good; it is still farther necessary that the governed should be convinced of this, and they cannot be so unless they have the means of making themselves heard. Even were the Council of State composed of angels or of Gods, who could see with the first glance of the eye what was best to be done, it would signify nothing unless the colonists had the conviction of having had their statements duly attended to.* Strength is also founded on opinion. It is principally in this point of view that the proposed establishment is necessary. There is at present no medium of communication between France and her colonies: the most absurd reports are circulated there; the true principles of the Government, so far from being properly understood, are burlesqued in every account of them. This is because those of the colonists who are in Paris are forced to collect their information in ante-chambers, or from the

* A finer or more liberal definition of justice, or of what governments owe to the people, surely never was given.

enemies of the Government, or in society which has no connexion with it. If on the contrary there were established here, under the eye of the Government, a sort of colonial association, it would learn the truth, would repeat it, and write word of it home. It is then a channel of information that we want to open with them. The citizen Serres has committed outrages, unheard-of oppressions at Senegal; some of those banished there have revolted against him. I shall have them tried, because they ought to know that their first duty is obedience to the authority of the mother-country; but I shall have him tried also, for it was his to make it respected. If there had been here a deputy from Senegal, or a board of commissioners, this man would have been more on his guard, and would have conducted himself better. It is said "*Choose your agents better:*" but the citizen Serres enjoyed a good reputation before this; it was power that turned his head. Besides, it is not simply with a view to keep a check on the agents of Government that the plan is good; it is also of use to defend them from calumny. A thousand stories have been told of this poor General Dugua; he had, they said, encouraged the negroes to insurrection: there is not a person who has not heard the most violent accusations against him. Now, if there was any charge against him, it was that of having treated them with too much harshness. In spite of all I could

do to put a stop to the calumny, it has not been the less eagerly circulated against an unfortunate man, who devoted himself to destruction by this means. An agent of Government, urged by necessity, makes some relaxations in the laws of the customs, and suffers foreign flour to be introduced into the colonies; instantly he is denounced by the inhabitants of Nantes and Bourdeaux as a corrupt officer, a man sold to the views of the enemy, and yet it is necessity and the welfare of the colony that have determined him to act in the manner he has done. Do you imagine in such a case, that if there were deputies from the colonies near at hand, they would not be eager to point out the truth and to defend the men who had rendered an important service to their country? The colonists and the merchants have interests always opposed to each other. When it is in agitation to establish a certain tax on the produce of the colonies, all the boards of commerce send in their memorials, and no one watches to defend the interests of the colonies. The law arrives there armed with all its rigour, without any one's being at the pains to explain the motives to the colonists or to give them an assurance that every circumstance has been duly weighed. I am aware that we keep the colonies for the sake of commerce, for the advantage of the mother-country; but at the same time, the colonists themselves are Frenchmen, are brothers;

they contribute to the support of the state, they have interests of their own to defend, and the least we can do for them is to allow them this imperfect means of letting us know their sentiments as to what those interests are."

Truguet.—"It would at any rate be best to postpone the plan; the moment is unfavourable."

The First Consul objected to the adjournment, and added: "People suppose that the colonists are on the side of the English; but I can say that at Martinique there are the best-disposed citizens. The partisans of the English are well known; they are far from numerous. So when they sent M. Dubuc here, they wrote to inform me that he was a friend of the English. The agents of the Government have been received with the greatest enthusiasm by the inhabitants."

Truguet.—"Not by the greater number."

The First Consul, (growing warm).—"See how things are misrepresented! There are persons who are determined to find only partisans of the English in the colonies, in order that they may have a pretext to oppress them. Well, M. Truguet, if you had come into Egypt to preach up the freedom of the negroes or Arabs, we should have hung you up at the mast-head. It has been so contrived, that all the whites should be delivered over to the ferocity of the blacks, and yet it is thought strange that they should be dissatisfied. Well then, had

I been at Martinique, I should also have been on the side of the English, because above all things it is necessary to save one's life. I am for the whites, because I am white; I have no other reason, yet that is reason good enough. How was it possible to grant liberty to the Africans, to men without any kind of civilization, who did not even know what a colony meant, or that there was such a place as France? It is quite evident, that those who proposed the emancipation of the blacks must wish for the slavery of the whites; but after all, do you suppose that if the majority of the Convention had seen what they were doing and been acquainted with the colonies, they would have persisted in granting freedom to the negroes? Doubtless not; but few persons were in a situation to foresee the consequences at the time, and a sentiment of humanity always appeals powerfully to the imagination. But at present, for any one to persist in these principles, is to shew a want of good faith; it is mere pride and hypocrisy. Without going so far, would you have consented, would we have suffered, that the French should have been brought in subjection to the Italians, to the Piedmontese? We might have been well treated; they might have made of us what the blacks have made of the whites. We have been obliged, on the contrary, to take strong measures of precaution, and to keep them in a state of dependence; and even had it

been necessary to let all Italy perish or sacrifice two soldiers in my army, I would have let all Italy perish; because before all things, I am of my army and for my army. To this day even it is necessary to have an eye on that country; nevertheless they are whites like us, a civilized people, and our neighbours."

Perhaps there is not anywhere on record, and particularly coming out of the person's own mouth, a passage which paints so powerfully, with such nakedness and force, not merely the character but the inmost soul and extremity of purpose in an individual, as the one just given. It would be as much in vain to reason with a man whose mind is devoured and burnt up with this unquenchable zeal of partisanship, as to insist that a person is not to writhe with pain who has a living coal of fire applied to his breast. We see a soul of fire without water or clay, that nothing could tame, could soften, or deter. It is not a question of degree, but a total separation in principle and an antipathy in nature to the ordinary and cherished weaknesses of human nature; so that no extreme case or disproportion in the objects could make any difference on a mind that had a capacity but for one class and modification of feeling. In this one passage he has given a clue (radiant with light) to all his actions, to all his greatness and his littleness, his elevation and his fall, without resorting to studied policy, to accident,

or the advice of friends. Buonaparte need not talk of Arabs or uncivilised nations; he is himself one of them. No wild Indian could brood over in his hut or make a triumphant boast at the stake of a more utter abnegation of all the mawkishness of general benevolence; nor snap with less ceremony or firmer nerves all the ties but those which bind him to his tribe and link him in a chain of sordid interest with others with whom he is knit in a common cause, and who are ready to stand by him in like manner. No son of the Desert, whose feelings have been burnt into him by a scorching sun, who is hardened against compunction by the extremity of want, who recognises only in the stranger or in his fellow-man a deadly foe whose existence is at war with his own and that of all belonging to him, could express a more determined disbelief in and contempt for all the decencies, charities, and professed courtesies of general philanthropy as mere names and shadows. The tendency of civilisation and intellectual intercourse has been to extend the circle of sympathy with the circle of knowledge, to burst the barriers of tribe, nation, and colour, and to extort the confession that wherever there was a kindred feeling, there was a claim to pity, to justice, and humanity. Thus "we see a softness coming over the heart, and the iron scales of ambition that fenced and guarded it melt and drop off." "A negro has a soul, an' please your honour," said the

Corporal, doubtingly? "I am no great casuist, Trim," replied my uncle Toby, "but I suppose that God Almighty would not leave him without one, any more than thee or me." This is one of those glancing strokes of the pen which first served to throw a golden streak of light over this dark subject. If pleasure and pain, good and evil were black and white, then justice and injustice, right and wrong might depend on this distinction. - But old Fuller's quaint rhetoric contains a better moral when he calls the negroes "the images of God carved in ebony." The hand does not feel pain the less because it is black? Why then should it feel it the more because it is black, which does not alter the essence of the question? But it is not like mine, which is white! By what law of nature is it bound to be like it, except to the ignorant and prejudiced; who, knowing of no other colour, could not believe the existence of any other; and wondering to find that such people existed, and struck with the difference, required two hundred years more to look upon them as human beings? If our progress in this respect is slow, difficult, and imperfect, that is no reason why, by a sudden revulsion, we should undo all that has been done, and undermine the very foundation and principles by which any future progress can be made. This is indeed shutting our eyes and leaping into the dark gulf of wilfulness and barbarism. How far the negroes might be humanely treated and made tolerably comfortable,

in contradiction to the principles by which they are kept in slavery, I shall not dispute; but I am sure that they must be as ill-treated as possible under the sway of that hard code, which strips them of all title to charity because they are black. Why is it assumed that the negroes are incapable of civilisation? They are capable of being taught to wait at table, to ride behind a coach, to cook, to play on the fiddle; why then are they not capable of being taught to work out of doors as common labourers? There is no reason given. If it is determined to keep them slaves by force, then they have but one way to become free, that is, by exterminating their masters. Nothing shall persuade me that a slave is not at least a more respectable character than a slave-driver. Why should the French keep the Italians in subjection? Why lay down this alternative as necessary? It is the way to be subjected yourself. True patriotism warrants no conclusion contrary to liberty or humanity. What were the French to Napoleon? France was his adopted country. No one can feel a natural or blind attachment to thirty millions of people. France, England is a mere name, a geographical or political denomination, to which we are bound only by moral and rational ties, as a part of the great society of mankind, whose welfare, whose liberty, whose existence we are sworn to defend against the unjust aggressions or

encroachments of every other part, but not to sacrifice the whole to it. Why should Buonaparte put the question of sacrificing the lives of two of his soldiers or letting all Italy perish? This is an extreme case indeed, but it shews the extremity of will and character in the speaker, and is so far invaluable. If all Italy could not weigh down two lives, each Italian life must be worth nothing, a mere cypher, or it would mount up in such a sum. Adam Smith has observed, with the spirit and candour of a philosopher, that perhaps a pain in the little finger would vex a person more than the hearing of the death of a million of men in China by famine or otherwise, and that this is mere infirmity; but that if it were proposed to any one having it in his power whether he should feel a slight pain in his finger or a million of men should perish of hunger, a man would be a villain who should prefer the latter. Buonaparte seemed to think that the dictates of his will were to outweigh those of common sense and feeling; and that he was to act with rigid stoicism on the bare calculations of self-interest, as if they had been the severe deductions of reason and philosophy.

There is the same extraordinary tenacity of purpose and incorrigible determination to subject the reason and nature of things to mere arbitrary will discernible in the discussions which occurred in the Council of State relative to the law of adoption. We can hardly have a complete understanding of

Buonaparte's character without turning to them; and they will be useful in more than one point of view.

The First Consul. "The citizen Tronchet, in rejecting the principle of *adoption*, has cited the Romans; yet it took place among them in their Comitia, in presence of the whole people. The citizen Portalis has also said that wills were made before the Roman people. The reason of which is, that these acts were derogatory to the rights of families and the order of succession. The objection drawn from our Constitution is not well-founded. Whatever is not expressly prohibited by it is permitted. Adoption is neither a civil contract nor a judicial act. What is it then? An imitation by which society strives to ape nature. It is a kind of new sacrament; for I cannot find in the language any word that exactly defines its nature. The child of the blood and of the bone passes (so to speak) by the volition of the community into the blood and the bones of another. It is the loftiest act that can be imagined. It inspires the sentiments of a son into him who had them not, and reciprocally teaches those of a father. Whence then ought this act to proceed? From on high, like the thunderbolt. You are not the son of such a one, says the Legislative Body; nevertheless, you shall have the same sentiments as if you were. One cannot then raise one's-self too high for such an operation. It is feared that in this manner the use of adoption

should be too much limited; but we thereby honour it. Neither is it necessary that the legislature should enter into the details of each case; but as a high-priest, it comes forward to impart the sacred character. Suppose disputes to arise between the natural son and the son by adoption. The last will reply: It is the same authority which has established the marriage from which you proceed; it is the law itself which has made me your brother. An objection has been started to the revocability of adoption; but I would not have it revocable. Divorce is cited as a parallel case. How can any one compare that which dissolves with that which creates? When the State has pronounced the adoption to have taken place, surely it is not possible to think of permitting it to be recalled. It would be different if it originally emanated from a court of justice. It would be then not more than a sentence passed. When the father wished to remonstrate with the adopted son, the latter might say: You are not my father! The adopted might also abuse the secrets of the affairs or of the feelings of the adopter. No, it is not to be admitted."

Tronchet maintained the opinion of the First Consul; Rœderer combated it. "It is," said he, "more especially for the poorer classes that adoption is of use; for the labourer, for instance, who adopts the infant that the administration of the hospitals has entrusted to his care. The First Consul

aims at giving the institution too elevated a character. The labouring man will not feel this, but on the contrary will be deterred by it."

The First Consul. "The imagination must be powerfully affected. If there are differences between the natural and the adoptive father, if embarked in the same boat, they are threatened with imminent danger, the son ought to save his adoptive father. There is nothing but the will of the sovereign that can impress this sentiment. The Legislative Body must not pronounce in this case as it does in questions of property, of imposts, but as the high-priest of morality and the head of a sacred institution. The vice of our modern legislators is to have nothing that speaks to the imagination. It is not possible to govern man except by it; without imagination he is no better than a brute-beast. If the priests were to establish adoption, they would make an imposing ceremony of it. It is a mistake to govern men like machines. The whole society must interfere here. Your system leads to the revocability of adoption."

The Minister of Justice. "The Legislative Body will only sanction; for the consent of the parties is sufficient for the contract."

The First Consul. "There is no contract with a minor. A contract implies only geometrical obligations, it has nothing to do with sentiment. Insert the word *heir* in your law, and so let the

question rest. *Heir* carries along with it none but geometrical ideas; adoption, on the contrary, involves the ideas of institutions, of morality and sentiment. Analysis leads to results the most false and vicious. It is not for five sous a day, for a paltry distinction, that men go to be killed; it is by speaking to the soul that the will is electrified. It is not the notary who will produce this effect for the twelve francs that we pay him. The Council do not treat the question properly, they make it an affair of geometry; they view it as framers of the law, and not as statesmen. The imagination should consider adoption as a resource amidst the misfortunes of life. I put the question to the reporter, what difference there is between the heir and the adoptive child?"

Berlier. "In order to reply to this question, one must first settle the nature and effects of the kind of adoption which it is proposed to establish, otherwise the means of comparison are wanting; but according to my ideas, the legal heir, or heir by blood, is to the adopted one, what the reality is to the fiction, saving the modifications to be introduced into their respective rights and duties."

The First Consul. "Should the real father of the adopted become rich, then the latter would abandon his adoptive father. He ought to be allied to him for ever, otherwise he is no more than

the heir. What holds the place of the Deity on the earth? The legislature. Who is the son of his father? No one knows for certain. It is the will of the legislature which decides. The adopted son ought to be like that of the flesh and bone. If there is the smallest difference admitted, you are wide of your object, or I understand nothing of the matter."

Any thing more strikingly characteristic than this is not to be found recorded in the pages of history or fiction. No dramatic author, with all the licence of his art, with all the desire to produce effect, and all the genius and knowledge of nature to do so, ever worked up an *ideal* character to a pitch of greater extravagance and at the same time more consistent regularity than this. Buonaparte, in default of natural issue of his own, wished to adopt one of his brother's children as his own, and in establishing a law to make them equal, exercises a power of volition that overturns every obstacle that stands in its way. The wishing the adopted child to stand in as near a relation to the parent as the natural, and his reasonings to make it appear that this is possible, amount to the acuteness and perversity of frenzy. To effect a favourite purpose he clothes law with omnipotence, makes it able to create what nature has refused to do, and to reconcile a contradiction in terms. It would be as rational to pass a law to make the barren breed, or to transform a marble statue into a living being, and

to expect it to feel towards you the sentiments of filial piety, or to inspire a corresponding affection towards it, as to impress this character by mere force of words on a being that has it not by natural relation. It is true, law makes a difference in natural children, that is, requires other moral and artificial conditions before it adds its highest sanction; but to suppose that after all these conditions have been complied with, it can add the same sanction in a case where the most essential of all is wanting, is bad reasoning in every respect. Yet Buonaparte talks loudly of sentiment, as if sentiment were the creature of arbitrary institutions. The law is founded on nature, and does not create it. This attempt is like trying to unite hard substances without cement, by merely pressing them violently together: as long as the pressure continues they remain in contact, but as soon as it is taken away they fall asunder. I will venture to say that Buonaparte would not have argued in this manner, nor have suffered any one else to do so, after the birth of the King of Rome. Yet he is as absolute in his tone as any theological bigot, who has undertaken to impose contradictions in terms as articles of faith on mankind, in defiance of their reason and senses. There is one other remark to be made on this extract; it proves with the clearness of day-light, that the scandalous stories respecting the birth of the adopted child whom he was so anxious to place

on a level with one of the blood and bone, are utterly unfounded; for the rage and impatience here manifested to convert a legal fiction into a natural reality, would indeed have been absurd and wholly unaccountable, had the intended child and heir of his adoption been really and truly his own son.

As a contrast to these instances of excessive perversity of self-will, I will here add another, which shews equal acuteness with true liberality and considerateness of feeling. In speaking of sending back children from the public schools after making trial of their abilities for a certain time, Buonaparte says, "It is a very bad idea. One has no right thus to fix a stain on the honour of a child; for it is one that would stick by him all his life. A great many children appear stupid at twelve or fourteen years of age, while others are very forward at ten. One ought never to despair of a child till he has arrived at the age of puberty; it is then alone that he attains the development of all his faculties, and that a judgment can be formed of him. Till then, no encouragement should be spared." This single observation would do honour to any one who had spent his life in studying the character of children and the progressive unfolding of the faculties. Buonaparte was seldom wrong, except when he was determined not to be right. His understanding was strong, but his will was still stronger.

CHAPTER XXVII.

FIRST SUGGESTION OF THE CONCORDAT.

BUONAPARTE's object almost from the first appears to have been to consolidate the Revolution, by softening its features and mixing up its principles with others which had been longer and more widely established, thus to reconcile old to new France, the philosophers and the priests, and the Republic with the rest of Europe. This was an attempt to make the lamb lie down with the lion, and the only wonder is that it succeeded so far as it did, which it could not have done but for the *éclat* of his name, the dread of his power, and the extent of his abilities and resources. It was by means of the Concordat that he meant to heal the breaches in religious opinion, and the following seems to be the best account of the train of his feelings and reasonings on this subject.

It had been known for several months that Buonaparte was carrying on a negociation with the Court of Rome. The prelate Spina, Cardinal Gonsalvi, and Father Caselli were at Paris as plenipotentiaries from the Pope; Joseph Buonaparte, Cretet, Counsellor of State, and the Abbé Bernier

were those of the First Consul. In the Catholic church the priests were all in motion, and in the world the politicians, each hoping to make the most of their different schemes. The single fact of a negociation being on foot with the Pope was quite enough to shew what there was to be expected, and what the First Consul had in view.

On the 21st of Prairial, one of the Counsellors of State, N——, dined at Malmaison. After dinner the First Consul took him out alone with him into the park, and turned the conversation on religion. He combated for a considerable time the different systems of philosophers on modes of worship, deism, natural religion, &c. All this he designated as *ideology*. He more than once quoted Garat as at the head of the ideologists. "Hold," said he; "I was here last Sunday, walking out in this solitude, in the silence of nature. The sound of the bells of the church at Ruel suddenly struck my ear. I was affected; so great is the power of early habit and of education! I said to myself, then, what an impression must it not make on simple and credulous minds! Let your philosophers, your metaphysicians, reply to that: a religion is necessary for the people. It is also necessary that this religion should be in the hands of the Government. Fifty emigrant bishops in the pay of England at present govern the French clergy as they please. It is necessary to destroy this influence;

the authority of the Pope is required for that purpose. He displaces them, or makes them give in their resignation. It is declared that the Catholic religion being that of the majority of Frenchmen, it is proper to regulate the exercise of it. The First Consul nominates fifty bishops, the Pope inducts them. They name the curates, the State pays their salaries. They take the oath; those who do not are banished. Such of them as preach against the Government are denounced to their superiors to be punished. The Pope confirms the sale of the goods of the clergy; he consecrates the Republic. They will then chaunt, *Salvam fac rem Gallicam.* The bull is arrived. There are only a few expressions to alter. It will be said I am a Papist. I am nothing. I was a Mahometan in Egypt, I will be a Catholic here for the good of the people. I do not belong to any religion; but the idea of a God"—and lifting his hands to Heaven—"Who is it," he said, "who has made all that?" N——— then spoke in his turn, for hitherto he had listened without saying a word;

"To discuss the necessity of a religion is to mistake the question. I am ready to allow the utility of a particular worship. But a religious worship may exist without a clergy; for priests and a clergy are two very different things. There is implied in a clergy an hierarchy, one and the same spirit, one and the same end; it is a body, a

power, and a colossal one. If this body had the chief of the state for its head, the evil would be only half; but if it acknowledges a foreign prince as its head, it is then a rival power. Never has there been a more favourable opportunity in France for making an entire revolution in religion. You have at present the Constitutionalists, the Apostolic Vicars of the Pope, the Emigrant Bishops in England, with many shades of difference in all three. Citizens and priests, all is disunion; and the greatest part of the nation is in a state of indifference."

"You deceive yourself," interrupted Napoleon, "the clergy exists always, it will always exist while there is a religious spirit in the people, and this spirit is inherent in them. We have had instances of republics, of democracies, of all that we see, but never any state without religion, without a form of worship, without a priesthood. Is it not better then to regulate the worship and gain over the priests than to leave things as they are? At present the priests preach against the Republic: are we to send them into exile? No; for to succeed in this we must change the whole system of government. What makes it popular is its respect for religion. We may send the English and Austrians out of the country; but as to Frenchmen who have families and who are only guilty of holding other religious opinions, it is

impossible. We must then attach them to the Republic."

N——. "They can never become sincerely attached to it. The Revolution has despoiled them of their privileges and their property. They will never forgive this double offence, but will always wage war against it. They will be less formidable while they are scattered, than when they are established and re-united. There is no need either to banish or to persecute any one, but merely to let every priest say mass as he judges fit, and every Frenchman go to church or chapel as he pleases; and if, after all, the opposition of the priests to the Republic was pushed to such a point as to trouble the latter, I should not hesitate to sacrifice them to the public tranquillity."

Buon. "You would then proscribe them?"

N——. "Must we proscribe the Republic?"

Buon. "That is playing on words."

N——. "No, it is defining things. Besides, with a good discipline and an enlightened police, I do not think we should have occasion to proceed to that length."

Buon. "And on my part I tell you that the priests who shall accept of office will by that alone have made a schism with the old titular clergy, and will then be interested in preventing their return and in favouring the new order of things."

N——. "I hope it may turn out so, but I am not

sure of it. This, however, is but a very small part of the great question. The Catholic religion is become intolerant, and its priests are counter-revolutionary: the spirit of the present time is entirely opposed to theirs; we are nearer the Gospel than they."

Buon. "What we are about to do will give a mortal blow to Popery."

N——. "On the contrary, it will revive and give it new force."

Buon. "Ought I not to do just the contrary to what Henry IV. did?"

N——. "Different times have different manners. For myself if it is indispensable to have a predominant worship, I should prefer his."

Buon. "My good friend, you know nothing of the matter."

N——. "Every thing is prepared for such a change. We are very differently situated from what England and Germany formerly were, and the times of the Reformation had not a Buonaparte. In the actual state of men's minds, you have but to say a word, and Popery is for ever ruined, and France declares for Protestantism."

Buon. "Ay, one half of it, and the other half will remain Catholic; and we shall have quarrels and dissensions interminable."

N——. "Had we reasoned thus during the Revolution, the Constitutional Assembly would have

given way before the feudal system, and the National Convention before royalty and hereditary right. Every revolution political or religious must look for opposition."

Buon. "Why then provoke it on the part of the people and the priests? The enlightened part of the community will not raise an insurrection against Catholicism; they are too indifferent. I then save myself great difficulties in the interior, and I can by means of the Pope abroad"——There he stopped.

N——. "Yes, reckoning the sacrifices which will also place you in a state of dependence on him. You have to deal with an adversary who is artful and more powerful against those who treat with him than against those who have once broken with him. The thing offers at present only a favourable side. But when you imagine you have done with the Pope, you will see what will happen. The occasion is without example. If you let it escape"——

Buon. (*After a moment's reflection*) "My friend, there is no longer either good faith or belief; there is no longer any fear of the clergy; it is merely a political arrangement. Things are too far advanced to retreat, and the part which I have taken appears to me the safest."

N——. "Indeed, since the bull is arrived, all I could say must be of very little use."

Thus ended this remarkable conversation. It

shews pretty clearly the motives that actuated Buonaparte in this measure—some latent feelings of religion, and the prospect of making use of the Papal See, as an engine of power, and also for restoring internal tranquillity. The question itself is one which I cannot pretend to judge, without knowing more of the state of religious feeling in France than I do; but I shall attempt to lay down one or two general remarks on the subject, on which I think the solution of the problem and the policy or impolicy of Buonaparte's conduct may in a great measure be presumed to depend. In the first place, it appears to me right to consider not what is good in itself but what is fit for the time and place in which it is intended to be put in practice. If Buonaparte could by a Concordat have brought back the times of Popery in their full power and splendour, when the Catholic faith was like one entire chrysolite without flaw or seeming spot in it, I should for one have no objection to that. Popery, whatever were its faults, its abuses, or its absurdities, was in this sense a true and noble religion, that it let down Heaven upon earth. Men no more doubted of a future state and of the glory hereafter to be revealed than of their own existence; and if the priests took possession of the power and riches of this world, they gave us another in lieu of it—no bad exchange. It was not a clear loss. This faith was implicit,

firm, and pure, for it had never been called in question; and the impression of that of which a doubt had never been entertained or was supposed to have been entertained by others, became by habit and the common consent of mankind equivalent to an object of sense. Europe was a temple in which Popery had its worship and its altars, was embodied in pictures and in imagery, was borne on the sounds of music, "like an exhalation of rich-distilled perfumes," was solemnized in processions, in festivals, in ceremony, in dresses, in buildings, was sanctioned by the voice of learning, by the dread of power, shewed its mitred front in palaces and cities, smote the heart in the depths of solitude, shed its light on the path of life, and hung its lamp in the tomb. This state of involuntary abstraction was a great, perhaps the greatest benefit. There was no condition so high that it did not spread a lustre round it, none so low that it did not raise it from pain and from despair. Faith is the evidence of things unseen, and Popery furnished this evidence in the highest degree — a trust and conviction in sacred things, strengthened and exalted beyond the reach of doubt, of guilt, or passion by time, by numbers, by all that could appal or allure the imagination. Within the bosom of the Roman Catholic church, under the shadow of its countenance, there was a repose on "the Ancient of Days," deep and calm as the sleep of

cradled infancy. This is still in a good measure the case in Italy, where you see an innocent girl crossing her forehead with holy water, and feeling her soul refreshed; an old woman kissing the feet of a crucifix at the corner of a street, and not suspecting that this subjects her to the ridicule of any living being; an old man bare-headed making his annual pilgrimage to Rome, counting his beads unconscious of all around, and eying St. Peter's as the road to heaven, as if he were already entering the precincts of the New Jerusalem. To those who think this nothing, I have nothing to say. Those who could take the finest aspirations and most gorgeous visions of the human mind as to its own origin, destiny, and nature, and make out of this air-woven theory a solid fabric and a material language, familiarised to the thoughts of the whole community and speaking audibly to thel owest and the highest, were, I think, architects of human happiness and builders of the loftiest fiction. I so far approve of that deep sleep, of that solemn gloom, of those bright visions, and would not disturb them. It is to no purpose to tell me that the rites of this religion were childish mummeries, that these theoretical doctrines were the wildest absurdities—that moves me not a jot; when I see truth and philosophy inspire the same enthusiasm and the same reverence that it is complained were lavished on folly and superstition, then I shall give

the preference to the former over the latter. What does it import that in wrangling about the difference between real and pretended excellence, we arrive at the object of our pursuit and lose all feeling about it? Philosophers were so far wrong in relinquishing the hold which the other world gave them over the minds of the people: ever since, instead of learned ease, leisure, dignity, they have had nothing but disputes, mortifications, and the contempt of the vulgar. What have those gained by it who were most active in sundering reason from authority? Have not those who have in fact advanced the cause of truth and discovered any new link in the chain been uniformly exposed to the sneers of the world and baited with the rabble's curse? Have not the most daring and acute been exposed to the greatest obloquy? Have not the different sects in turn persecuted, slandered, and extirpated one another? We have discarded Popery, but have got nothing in its stead: or why complain of the servile submission to the infallibility of the Pope, when every one still believes just as much in the newspaper of the day or the libel he last read, but without the consistency, dignity, or quiet? Reason is not yet out of its long minority, nor has it mounted its promised throne. Could Buonaparte therefore have restored the pristine integrity of the Catholic church with all its accompaniments, I should have

had no objection, but the thing was in our time impossible, just as much as it is impossible for the brain to dream waking; faith is founded on the sleep of reason, and he could only bring back hypocrisy, the abhorred alike of God and man. The only good of the Catholic religion was the faith in it, without which it would be like a painted sepulchre or an ill-acted play. Nay more, could he have carried back the state of public faith and feeling to the time preceding the Reformation, this would not have been enough unless he could have violently suppressed all the causes then at work to produce its overthrow, unless he could have corrected the abuses and corruptions of Popery arising out of its very success and unbridled power, and thus have brought its pretensions into question and given it a check that way; or to make it last another thousand years, have thrown the world back to the beginning of the dark ages, and to the period of the triumph of ignorance and barbarism over civilisation and knowledge? But this was too much for any man to do, or even to think of. We must therefore work with the instruments that are allotted us; and no man can resist the spirit of the age in which he lives. The mind may reverence an absurdity, but cannot do so after it knows it to be one. That which before was held up as an object of awe and veneration, if in that case attempted to be forced upon

it, becomes an insult. The world grows old like the individual, and has its season of enthusiasm and its season of indifference; but at all times affectation is bad. The faith in religion is good only while it is sincere. Why did people at the time of the Reformation give up Popery? Because it was found out to be an imposture, and they could not believe in an imposture, though they would. The Catholic religion without faith is stark-naught; and yet this is the only Catholic religion that could be established in France after the Revolution.

To make the public mind in France a fit recipient for Popery, that is, to restore the blind and implicit belief in it which could alone make it desirable, it would be necessary to enforce a strict quarantine against all those works in which for the last hundred years the faith in priests and Popery had been undermined by merciless wit and raillery: would the French people then give up Moliere or Voltaire to a Concordat? Nor would this be sufficient; it would be necessary to destroy or prohibit all works of reasoning, of history, or science; all that had contributed to form the national mind and tone of thinking since the Reformation, and construct it anew out of the elements of chaos and the obscurest depths of ignorance. It would be necessary to destroy the press, an engine that would destroy whatever power attempted to crush it.—It, how-

ever, seems to me that the establishment of Protestantism recommended above, would be even worse than the establishment of Popery; for if we must have an establishment, let us have the oldest. The Protestant religion is cold, formal, lip-service, that neither warms the heart nor inspires the head. In England, the established religion has no effect on the people; they go to church as a matter of course or as a way of passing the time; but they neither understand what they hear nor are affected with what they see, nor do they think of it from one week's end to another. There are no pictures, no crucifixes, no incessant scene-shifting to keep them alive, no learned language which they think may be that of the other world. Hunger and the law alone keep them in order; the hope or fear of a future state is quite powerless, for they meet with nothing to remind them of it adapted to their ordinary habits and modes of thinking. The sectaries alone have any religion; and the Methodists all the enthusiasm. In Scotland it is different; in those cold and sterile regions the spirit of opposition to authority and of fiery controversy still encourages the zeal for religious forms and opinions, and is aided by the simplicity of manners and local circumstances. In Ireland we see Popery in its worst and most degraded state, where it is confined to the most ignorant of the people and not supported by public opinion or by the authority of the

state, though it has relaxed none of its claims to domination over the human mind. The priests and their flocks are well-fitted to each other. Certainly, the way to detach the mass of the people from such brutish bondage is to remove every distinction or obstacle that separates them from the rest of the community. The way to prevent others from leaguing and plotting against you is not to exclude them from your confidence or counsels. Statesmen talk of religion as necessary to the vulgar—this is the ridiculous air of a fine gentleman. The people have no religion but what they imbibe from their superiors. If the higher classes are without religion, they will soon find the lower imitating their example in this as in all other things. It is in vain to think of reserving infidelity as a private luxury for the rich. The poorer sort are spies upon the rich and see through appearances with a shrewdness and tact often proportioned to their general ignorance and consequent suspicion of the motives and feelings of those at whose mercy and disposal they find themselves. If it were otherwise, the servants in great families would betray their masters' secrets, and do away by mischievous tattle all the good effects of their appearing once a week at church in stately formality, as a compliment to heaven and an example to their dependants. Hypocrisy must be deep indeed, systematic, and professional, that sets at defiance this ordeal; and

we find even that the monks and priests, whose business it was and who had made a science of it, could not at the time of the Reformation carry on the farce any longer. The common people have eyes and ears; and society is an electrical machine, by which good and evil, vice and virtue are communicated with instantaneous rapidity from one extremity to another. The true solution of the difficulty is that given in the dialogue above, where the State-Counsellor recommends a perfect freedom and toleration of all sects and religions. Let each person follow and pay for his own religion, for it is contrary to equitable reasoning to make any one else pay for or follow it; nor is it any business of the state, except as an engine of power, which is an argument against it. It is not the duty of government to shew us the way to the other world, but to afford us protection in this. The whole business of legislation reduces itself to establishing a good and effectual system of police, so as to keep the peace between individual and individual. According to modern logic and prevailing sentiments, government ought to interfere as little as possible with religion or morals or the fine arts or commerce. Let these all be left to make their own way and to find their own level from their intrinsic and understood advantages, and let government merely stand by as a peace-officer to prevent any one from using violence or fraud in his

transactions with others. It is pretty generally allowed at present that religion ought to be tolerated, and that trade ought to be free. At one time it was thought that both would perish, and that the community could not subsist, unless the government took the management and encouragement of both directly and absolutely into its own hands. The rule is, to give men leave to do all the good they can, only hindering them from hurting one another. The encouragement of the fine arts is useless, if the taste and genius of the people do not point that way; if they do, they will produce all their wonders and refinements from inclination and liking. Again, it is in vain to make laws to punish vice, if manners forbid their execution; it is equally useless if the manners preclude the vice. This observation, of course, applies only to personal vices, or to such as affect ourselves only, and not to such as immediately affect others. I believe a complete system of legislation might be formed upon some such simple principle as that of only opposing force by force; and perhaps the *Codè Napoléon* might have approached nearer to it without inconvenience. The liberty of the press would have been one grand feature and corollary from such a system of legislation; and though Napoleon says he should have had "thirty royalist and as many Jacobin journals established to run him down," he might have baffled both in this way, as well as

by shooting a bookseller.* Libels or invectives do nothing against principles; and as to individuals, it is the attempt to suppress truth, that gives falsehood its worst edge. What transpires (however secretly or maliciously) in spite of the law, is taken for gospel; and as it is impossible to prevent calumny, so it is impossible to counteract it, while all that can be said in answer to it is attributed to people's not daring to speak the truth.—Or if he could not take so bold and difficult a step in clearing the way to a new system, conformably to existing feelings and opinions, at least he need not have thrown any additional or unnecessary stumbling-blocks in its way, such as the revived Gallican church, which would impede the progress of society in its real path, and could not throw it back into its old station. That was not the sort of blocks of granite to cast on the soil of France, to give solidity and purchase to the new ideas of government and civilisation. Besides, encouraging the priests was only warming the viper in his bosom; if triumphant, he needed them not; if in difficulty, they would be sure to betray him. There was no possibility of conciliating or ren-

* An irritable poet of great celebrity, whose political bias is no secret, being invited to a booksellers' dinner, was called upon for a literary toast or sentiment. He gave "Buonaparte." "What! Mr. ——, did we understand you rightly? We asked you for a literary toast or sentiment." "Why, yes; egad —he shot a bookseller once!"

dering them neuter; even their impotence would only increase their malice by a comparison with former times, which their restoration would necessarily suggest.

The same objection might be made to the recal of the emigrants. As a step to reconcile men's minds to nobility, it might be politic; but not consistent with republican principles. Buonaparte asks on this subject (which I will so far anticipate), "Is it not natural to respect the son of a sage or a hero more than the son of a common man?" And the answer is, Yes, but not more than his father. This feeling, as far as it is natural, will have its effect without positive institution. The descendants of Milton and Shakespeare were living lately, but they were only thought of for the sake of their ancestors. Had they been mere nobles, their posterity would have been honoured and they themselves forgot. But it is said, that property is transmitted, and why not titles and honours? Because property can be transmitted, and the respect (such as it is) attendant on it; but talents and virtues are not transmissible, and therefore it is not parallel to say that the honours or homage originally paid to these should be transmitted by patent without them. This is making a property of honours and of public opinion, as a privilege to which men are entitled by birth and for their own sakes, and not

for the benefit of the public. There is but one step farther necessary in this false train of reasoning to arrive at the principle of absolute monarchy, which makes a property of thrones and the rights and liberties of nations a bye-word!

CHAPTER XXVIII.

MARENGO.

It is necessary to return at present and take up the thread of historical events in their order. The first thing Buonaparte did on assuming the reins of Government was to write a letter to the King of England soliciting peace. The letter and the answer to it are as follows, and both remarkable enough.

"*French Republic—Sovereignty of the People—Liberty—Equality.*

"*Buonaparte, First Consul of the Republic, to His Majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland.*

"Called by the wishes of the French nation to occupy the First Magistracy of the Republic, I have thought proper, in commencing the discharge of the duties of this office, to communicate the event directly to your Majesty.

"Must the war, which for eight years has ravaged the four quarters of the world, be eternal? Is there no room for accommodation?

"How can the two most enlightened nations in Europe, stronger and more powerful than is necessary for their safety and independence, sacrifice commercial advantages, internal prosperity, and domestic happiness to vain ideas of grandeur? Whence is it that they do not feel peace to be the first of wants, as well as the first of glories?

"These sentiments cannot be new to the heart of your Majesty, who rule over a free nation with no other view than to render it happy.

"Your Majesty will see in this overture only my sincere desire to contribute effectually, for the second time, to a general pacification, by a prompt step taken in confidence, and freed from those forms, which, however necessary to disguise the apprehensions of feeble states, only serve to discover in those that are powerful a mutual wish to deceive.

"France and England may, by the abuse of their strength, long defer the period of its utter exhaustion, unhappily for all nations. But I will venture to say, that the fate of all civilised nations is concerned in the termination of a war, the flames of which are raging throughout the whole world.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"BUONAPARTE."

The style of this letter has been criticised as empirical, and as an indecorous schooling of

Majesty; and in all ordinary conjunctures, the objection would hold good. But where the personal character and motives of the Government were continually cavilled at and made in this very instance an insuperable bar to peace, it was surely allowable for the chief magistrate to come forward in his own person and to take a frank and decisive step, as free as possible from official embarrassment and mystery. Though a diplomatic licence, it was at any rate a less flagrant one than the assassination of ambassadors, which was the *legitimate* termination of the last political negociation (that of Rastadt) Buonaparte had been engaged in. If, however, his appeal to the personal feelings of George III. was forward and overweening, there is no want of prudery and reserve in Lord Grenville's reply, which reminds one of Miss Harris's retort on her sister, who had proposed to forget all mutual faults, that "she has nothing to charge her conscience with." This comparison may be thought trifling and low; and I should think so, if meanness could not insinuate itself into cabinets nor hypocrisy mount upon a throne. The document is a curious and instructive specimen of the *cypher-hand* of Pitt, in which it is impossible to detect either beginning, middle, or end, which rings the changes of pompous and conventional phraseology on a continual vapid assumption of the question, which defines nothing, states nothing, proves nothing,

but goes round and round in a circle of charges, committals, and equivocations, and in the flourishes and mazes of which (containing a deadly purpose under a routine of hollow common-places) England lost her liberties, her strength, herself and the world. It is a question between two Governments, which is sincere in its desire of peace; and one of them endeavours to prove its sincerity by saying it will be ready to make peace with the other, *whenever it shall have ceased to exist.* Its existence is the avowed obstacle to peace; which, instead of a pledge of pacific intentions, amounts to a standing declaration of war. It is easy to see that that party that obstinately pronounces the other incapable of making peace, is itself determined against it. Few states would carry on war, if their rivals would please to submit to their yoke. It is as if a person should profess a cordial desire and readiness to be reconciled to an enemy, on condition that the latter should hang himself on the next tree. This in private life would be thought an irony, instead of an amicable overture. What would have been said if Buonaparte had proposed to the King of Great Britain to resign his crown and authority in favour of a Republican form of Government or of the surviving branch of the Stuarts, and that then he might make peace with him? Would it have been enough to screen such an official outrage, to have added a saving clause, that this was not an absolute *sine qua non*; though,

till it was complied with, he must carry on "a just and defensive war." Oh no! This is only the language which established governments hold to green usurpations—it would not otherwise be borne; "it is the gibberish and *patois* of affected legitimacy," which "the gorge of freedom rises at;" it is outlawing a government under the mask of parleying with it; or inviting an adversary to sign terms of peace with a pen, while you, who set yourself up as both judge and executioner, strike off his hand with an axe. A very little of this tone is fatal to peace and liberty; we had nothing else for near half a century.

"*Lord Grenville in reply to the Minister of Foreign Relations at Paris.*

"Downing Street, January 4, 1800.

"Sir,—I have received and laid before the King the two letters which you have transmitted to me; and his Majesty, seeing no reason to depart from those forms which have long been established in Europe for transacting business with Foreign States, has commanded me to return, in his name, the official answer which I send you herewith enclosed.

I have the honour to be, with high consideration,

"Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

"Grenville."

"NOTE *to the Minister of Foreign Relations at Paris.*

"The King has given frequent proofs of his sincere desire for the re-establishment of secure and permanent tranquillity in Europe. He neither is nor has been engaged in any contest for a vain and false glory. He has had no other view than that of maintaining, against all aggression, the rights and happiness of his subjects. For these he has contended against an unprovoked attack, and for the same objects he is still obliged to contend; nor can he hope that this necessity could be removed, by entering at the present moment into negociations with those whom a fresh revolution has so recently placed in the exercise of power in France; since no real advantage can arise from such negociation to the great and desirable object of general peace, until it shall appear that those causes have ceased to operate, which originally produced the war,* and by which it has since been protracted,

* That is, the manifestation of a desire for peace on the part of the French Government has nothing to do with the question of war, so that their hostility could not have been among the causes that produced or prolonged it. This is true; but instead of all this circumlocution and rotundity of phrase, would it not have been better and more manly for his Majesty to have said at once that he had gone to war for the royal cause, which he so broadly hints at in the concluding paragraph; and that till this object was attained, no earthly consideration (save the last extremity) should force him to make peace—and that then he would break it again as soon as possible, and launch into the same insane and fatal career—fatal alike, whether prosperous or unsuccessful!

and in more than one instance renewed. The same system, to the prevalence of which France justly ascribes all her present miseries, is that which has also involved the rest of Europe in a long and destructive warfare, of a nature long since unknown to the practice of civilised nations.* For the extension of this system, and for the extermination of all established governments, the resources of France have from year to year, and in the midst of the most unparalleled distress, been lavished and exhausted" [*That is, to prevent its own extermination*]. "To this indiscriminate spirit of destruction, the Netherlands, the United Provinces, the Swiss Cantons (his Majesty's ancient friends and allies) have successively been sacrificed. *Germany has been ravaged;* Italy, *though now rescued from its invaders,* has been made the scene of unbounded rapine and anarchy.† His Majesty has himself been compelled to maintain an arduous and burthensome contest for the independence and

* It is true it was long since Europe had joined to force a people to submit to a despotic yoke, for it was long since any people (on the Continent) had shaken off such a yoke. The attacks of all Europe also gave a peculiar character to the war, by combining the horrors of civil discord with foreign aggression; and it was the determination of the French not to submit to this double blessing as a gracious boon, that produced the miseries of France and the resentment of Europe.

† Really this is too much, even for a State-paper. As if the French armies, after having beaten back the Austrians and Piedmontese, who were coming to ravage France, were to lay down their arms or refuse to set foot on a soil sacred to slavery,

existence of his kingdoms. Nor have these calamities been confined to Europe alone; they have been extended to the most distant quarters of the world, and even to countries so remote both in situation and interest from the present contest, that the very existence of such a war was perhaps unknown to those who found themselves suddenly involved in all its horrors.* While *such a system* continues to prevail, and while the blood and treasure of a numerous and powerful nation can be lavished in its support, experience has shewn that no defence but that of open and steady hostility can be availing. The most solemn treaties have only prepared the way for fresh aggressions; and it is to a determined resistance alone that is now due whatever remains in Europe of stability for property, for personal liberty, for social order, or for the free exercise of religion. For the security, therefore, of these essential objects, his Majesty cannot place his reliance on the mere renewal of general professions of pacific dispositions. Such professions have been repeatedly held out by all

or were not to advance to meet, to scatter and pursue those ever-renewed bands of mercenaries and barbarians, that came on from the farthest bounds of Europe like flocks of ravenous birds, seeking a prey, but bleaching the earth with their bones till victory was sated and "sweet revenge grew harsh."

* These pointed allusions to Italy and Egypt sound like personal taunts thrown out against Buonaparte, in return for his having made so untimely and unbecoming a proposal for peace.

those who have successively directed the resources of France *to the destruction of Europe!* * and whom the present rulers have declared to have been all, from the beginning and uniformly, *incapable of maintaining the relations of amity and peace.* † Greatly, indeed, will his Majesty rejoice, whenever it shall appear that the dangers to which his own dominions and those of his Allies have been so long exposed have really ceased; whenever he shall be satisfied that the necessity of resistance is at an end; that after the experience of so many years of crimes and miseries,‡ better principles have ultimately prevailed in France; and that all the gigantic projects of ambition, and all the rest-

* This again is in true character and keeping with that besotted presumption, which having been taught that it can do no wrong, sees and can see only in the defeat of its own attempts at the destruction of others, a violent and unprovoked aggression on its absolute prerogative; and privileged to confound its self-will with right reason, thinks it an unquestionable right, a sacred duty, to resort to every means to keep that privilege inviolate.

† A government that can carry on war can make peace. They are convertible terms. The changes in the French Government did not prevent their keeping on the contest, but they prevented us from closing it, by giving hopes of their utter ruin. The factions did not produce the war, but the war the factions.

‡ The fact of the crimes and miseries is undoubted; the cause of those crimes and miseries is the only thing in question. Of course his Majesty, with proper dignity, repelled any such imputation from himself and his Allies, and the French people, by legitimate etiquette, must plead guilty to the whole. I am tired of noticing these flimsy bubbles, that expire at a touch.

less schemes of destruction, which have endangered the existence of civil society,* have been finally relinquished; but the conviction of such a change, however agreeable to his Majesty's wishes, can result only from experience and the evidence of facts.†

"*The best and most natural pledge of its reality and permanence would be the restoration of that line of Princes which for so many centuries maintained the French nation in prosperity at home, and in consideration and respect abroad*"—[and which, be it remembered, carried on war for a great part of the last century to dethrone his Majesty's family, on the very same principle that he wishes to restore theirs];—"*such an event would*

* To wit, a certain perverse determination not to undergo the fate of Poland, an example which was not thought to endanger the existence of civil society, though it fed the hope which led to all those horrors of which his Majesty complains.

† Let us look at the reasonableness of this favourable alternative. The change was to be effected in time of war. Was this the way to discourage or to foment those internal dissensions which tore France in pieces, and which caused those crimes and miseries which were the subject of so much outward lamentation and secret triumph? Peace was refused; therefore the French Government must carry on the war. If they did this without judgment or success, this would be seized on as a motive for prosecuting it with double vigour; if they triumphantly repelled the new Coalition, this would be made a pretence for crying out against fresh projects of ambition and aggrandisement. There is no end of this, nor of the contempt and odium with which a future age will brand it.

at once have removed, and will at any time remove, all obstacles in the way of negociation or peace. It would confirm to France the unmolested enjoyment of its ancient territory; and it would give to all the other nations of Europe, in tranquillity and peace, that security which they are now compelled to seek by other means.* But, desirable as such an event must be both to France and to the world, it is not to this mode exclusively that his Majesty limits the possibility of secure and solid pacification. His Majesty makes no claim to prescribe to France what shall be the form of her Government, or in whose hands she shall vest the authority necessary for conducting the affairs of a great and powerful nation.† His Majesty looks only to the security of his own dominions and those of his Allies, and to the general safety of Europe.‡ Whenever he shall judge that such security can in any manner be attained as resulting either from the internal situation of that country, *from whose internal situation the danger has arisen*, or from *such other circumstances, of whatever nature, as*

* It is with the existence of the Republic, not with its acts, that the other Governments are at war; why, then, charge the war upon its acts, except as a cover to the real motive, and confessedly a false one?

† Except by bombarding her towns and landing expeditions and *brigands* on her coasts, to restore the exiled Pretender.

‡ A mere verbal distinction, if the two things, security and interference with others, are inseparable.

may produce the same end, his Majesty will eagerly embrace the opportunity to concert with his Allies the means of immediate and general pacification. Unhappily *no such security* * hitherto exists; no sufficient evidence of the principles by which the new Government will be directed; no reasonable ground by which to judge of its stability.† In this situation, it can for the present only remain for his Majesty to pursue, in conjunction with other Powers, those exertions of just and defensive war, which his regard to the happiness of his subjects will never permit him either to continue beyond the necessity in which they originate, or to terminate on any other grounds than such as may best contribute to the secure enjoyment of their tranquillity, their Constitution, and their independence.

"GRENVILLE.

"Downing Street, January 4, 1800."

The answer to this thinly-varnished declaration was Marengo. Buonaparte was not the man to be stopped by a specious arrangement of rhetorical common-places: he pierced the web of hollow policy attempted to be woven round him with his sword.

* No kind of security has been pointed out.

† One way to insure that object would be to let it alone; but this there was no intention of doing. It is fine fooling, when you are determined to undermine or knock a thing in pieces, to complain you do not know what chance it has of stability.

If not peace, then war. On receiving the account, he said to Talleyrand, "It could not be more favourable." He had not yet struck though he meditated the blow, which made Mr. Pitt, who had advised and reckoned largely on the continuance of the war, exclaim—"Shut up the map of Europe, it will be in vain to open it for twenty years to come!" The battle of Marengo, by which Buonaparte broke the Continental Alliance, and seated himself firmly in power, though perhaps the worst-fought, the most doubtful and casual of all his victories, was at the same time the most daring in its conception and fortunate in its results. A single half-hour's fighting changed the fate of Europe. This was owing to the manner in which the scene of action was laid. It was the most poetical of his battles. If Ariosto, if a magician had planned a campaign, it could hardly have been fuller of the romantic and incredible. He had given wings to war, hovering like Perseus in the air with borrowed speed. He fell upon his adversary from the clouds, from pathless precipices—and at the very moment of being beaten, recalled victory with a word. It might be conceived, that by effecting a junction with Massena at Genoa, and attacking the Austrians in front in the ordinary and obvious course, he would have had a better chance of victory; but then the victory could not have been so complete as

by coming upon the enemy's rear and cutting off his retreat, nor would it have had the same effect in taking him by surprise. Buonaparte, situated as he was, had not merely to win a battle, but to charm opinion. The very boldness of the enterprise was an earnest of its success; the slightest reverse would in such critical circumstances produce a panic; and the First Consul, where another might have given up the day as lost, held out with confidence to the last, prepared to take advantage of every chance. Faith has its miracles in war as well as in religion. Nor is there quackery in this; for it is fair to seize upon the imagination of others and disarm them of their presence of mind as well as of their weapons. The only danger is, if this illusion comes afterwards to be dispelled by a reverse of fortune, both as it emboldens others and disheartens the person himself; but no one ever fought up against adversity better than Buonaparte (if we perhaps except the first stunning effect of the disasters in Russia), or, divorced from fortune, threw himself more manfully and resolutely on the resources of his own genius and energy, doing as much to retrieve his affairs as he had done to advance them.

On the 7th of January 1800 (three days after the date of the refusal of the British Ministry to treat for peace) a decree of the Consuls directed the formation of an army of reserve. All the veteran

soldiers were required to come forward and serve the country under the command of the First Consul. A levy of 30,000 conscripts was ordered to recruit the army. General Berthier, then Minister at War, set out from Paris on the 2d of April to head the troops; the forms of the new Constitution not allowing the First Consul to take the command nominally. No sooner was intelligence received of the commencement of hostilities and the turn which things were taking in that quarter, than he judged it expedient to march at once to the assistance of the Army of Italy; but he determined to cross by the Great St. Bernard, in order to take the army of Melas in rear, to seize his magazines, artillery, and hospitals, and to give him battle after having cut him off from Austria. The loss of a single battle would ensure the destruction of his whole army and the conquest of Italy. This plan required much boldness, rapidity of execution, and secrecy. The last was very difficult to attain; for the movement of an army cannot well be kept a secret. In order to conceal his plan, the First Consul determined to divulge it himself so openly, that the emissaries and agents of the Allies were led upon a false scent, and ridiculed the pretended preparations as a stratagem to draw off the Austrian army, which was blockading Genoa. Dijon was pompously pointed out as the place of rendezvous, and it was said that Buonaparte would

proceed there to review the troops, which he actually did, though there were only 5000 or 6000 raw recruits and retired invalids assembled in the town. This army became an object of general derision, and caricatures were multiplied on the subject, one of which represented a boy of twelve years old and an invalid with a wooden leg, under which was written "Buonaparte's *Army of Reserve.*" Thus affected ridicule and contempt were the weapons with which they began, and by being persevered in throughout, succeeded at last; for greatness sustains itself by an effort, but sinks easily to the level of the meanness and littleness of mankind!

Meantime the real Army of Reserve had been formed, and was ready to march. La Vendée having been pacified under the Consular government, a considerable portion of the troops was drawn without inconvenience from that country. The regiments composing the guard of the Directory were no longer required to keep things quiet at Paris and went to join the army. Many of these regiments had not served in the disastrous campaign of 1799, and retained their spirit and confidence unimpaired. The artillery was sent piecemeal from various arsenals and garrisons. The greater part of the provisions, necessary to an army which had to cross barren mountains where nothing eatable was to be met with, were forwarded to Geneva, embarked upon the Lake,

and landed at Villeneuve, near the entrance of the valley of the Simplon. On the 6th of May the First Consul left Paris for Dijon, and arrived at Geneva on the 8th. He here had an interview with the celebrated Necker, who strove to recommend himself to his favour, but with little success. He praised the military preparations going on much, and himself more. On the 13th of May Buonaparte reviewed the vanguard of the Army of Reserve at Lausanne, commanded by General Lannes; it consisted of six old regiments of chosen troops, perfectly clothed, equipped, and appointed. It moved immediately forward to St. Pierre; the divisions followed in echelon, amounting in all to 36,000 fighting men, with a park of forty guns, and under the command of Victor, Loison, Vatrin, Boudet, Chambarlhac, Murat, and Monnier. There is a road practicable for artillery from Lausanne to St. Pierre, a village at the foot of the St. Bernard, and from St. Remi to Aosta on the other side. The difficulty then lay in the ascent and descent of the Great St. Bernard, a difficulty so great as to appear nearly insurmountable. General Marescot had been sent to reconnoitre; and on his reporting that the passage seemed barely possible, Buonaparte replied, "Let us set forward then." The way over Mount Cenis presented the same obstacles, and the country beyond was more open and exposed to the enemy.

There is only a rugged mountain-path over the St. Bernard, which often winds over almost inaccessible precipices. The passage of the artillery was the most arduous task. The guns had been taken in pieces, and the carriages, the ammunition, together with the cartridges for the infantry and mountain-forges, were transported on the backs of mules. But how get the pieces themselves over? For this purpose, a number of trunks of trees, hollowed out for the reception of the guns, which were fastened into them by their trunnions, had been prepared beforehand; to every piece thus secured a hundred soldiers were attached, who had to drag them up the steeps. All this was carried into effect so promptly that the march of the artillery caused no delay. The troops themselves made it a point of honour to be foremost in this new kind of duty; and one entire division chose to bivouac on the summit of the mountain in the midst of snow and excessive cold, rather than leave their artillery behind them. Throughout the whole passage the military bands played, and at the most difficult spots the charge was beaten to give fresh animation to the soldiers; while the cry of the eagle was faintly heard, and the wild goat turned to gaze at so unusual a sight. Field-forges were established at the villages of St. Pierre and St. Remi for dismounting and mounting the artillery. The army succeeded in getting a hundred waggons over.

On the 16th of May the First Consul slept at the convent of St. Maurice, and the whole army passed the St. Bernard on the 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th of May. Buonaparte himself crossed on the 20th, either on foot or riding a mule belonging to one of the inhabitants of St. Pierre, which the Prior of the convent had recommended as the most sure-footed in all the country. His guide the whole way was a tall robust youth of twenty-two, who conversed freely with him, answering the questions that were put to him, and confiding all his troubles to the First Consul with the simplicity of his age and situation in life. Napoleon took no notice of his distresses, but on parting with him, gave him a note to the superiors of the convent; and the next day, he was surprised to find himself in possession of a house, a piece of ground, and of all he wanted.—The First Consul rested an hour at the convent of the Hospitallers, at the top of the Great St. Bernard, and performed the descent on a sledge down an almost perpendicular glacier. The horses had more difficulty in descending than in ascending, though few accidents happened. The monks of the convent were well provided with stores of wine, bread and cheese; and each soldier as he passed received a large ration from the good fathers.

On the 16th General Lannes arrived with the vanguard at Aosta, a town abounding in resources, and on the 17th reached Chatillon, where he at-

tacked and routed a corps of 4000 or 5000 Austrians, who had been stationed there for the defence of the place. The army thought every obstacle had been surmounted; it was marching through a fine valley, with plenty of every thing, and mild weather, when all at once its progress was stopped by the appearance of Fort Bard; an interruption which was quite unlooked-for, but which had liked to have proved fatal. This fort is situated between Aosta and Ivrea upon a conical hill and between two mountains at fifty yards distance from each other; at its foot flows the river Doria, the valley of which it absolutely bars: the road passes through the fortifications of the town, which is walled, and is commanded by the fire of the fort. The engineer-officers of the vanguard who approached to reconnoitre, reported that there was no passage except through the town; and General Lannes having attempted a *coup-de-main* which failed, the panic spread rapidly in the rear, and orders were even given for stopping the passage of the artillery over the St. Bernard. But the First Consul, who was at Aosta, immediately repaired to Fort Bard, climbed up the rock of Albaredo on the left-hand mountain, which overlooks both the fort and the town, and soon discovered the possibility of taking the latter. There was no time to be lost: on the 25th at night-fall the 58th demi-brigade, led by Dufour, scaled the wall and

gained possession of the town, which is only separated from the fort by the stream of the Doria. During the night the fort poured grape-shot at half musquet-distance upon the French, but without dislodging them; and at last the fire ceased, out of regard to the inhabitants.

The infantry and cavalry passed one by one up the path of the mountain, the same which the First Consul had climbed, and which had hitherto been trod only by goatherds. On the following night the artillery-officers and gunners took their guns through the town, using every precaution to hide the knowledge of the circumstance from the Commandant of the fort: the road was covered with litter and dung, and the pieces concealed under branches of trees and straw, were drawn by men with cords in the most profound silence. Thus was a space of several hundred yards traversed, close under the batteries of the fort. The garrison, though suspecting nothing, made occasional discharges, which killed or wounded a number of gunners; but did not damp the general zeal. The fort did not surrender till the 1st of June, the French by that time having planted several cannon on the Albaredo, which thundered on the batteries below. Had the passing of the artillery been delayed till the capture of the fort, the chief hopes of the campaign would have been lost. Thus do the greatest events depend on the most trifling

causes; and so little would the best-laid schemes avail without presence of mind in the execution and ingenuity in providing for casualties as they arise!— The First Consul knew of the existence of Fort Bard, but believed it to be of no importance. The Commandant dispatched letter after letter to Melas to inform him of the march of a large army with cavalry by a path of steps in the rock on his right, but assured him that not a single waggon or cannon should follow; and on the surrender of the fort, the officers were surprised to learn the manner in which the whole French artillery had passed within pistol-shot of them. Had it been impracticable to convey the artillery through the town, the First Consul would have taken up a position at the entrance of the passes at Ivrea (which would have forced Melas to fall back from Nice) and there awaited the taking of the fort.

Meantime, from the 1st of May, Melas had been marching troops on Turin, which he entered in person on the 22d. On the same day the French General Turreau attacked the outposts on Mount Cenis with 3000 men, made himself master of it and took up a position between Susa and Turin, which gave the Austrian General some uneasiness. On the 24th Lannes arrived before Ivrea, which being defended chiefly by cavalry or the troops which had been beaten at Chatillon, he easily took it, the enemy retiring behind the Chiusella to Romano,

whence he was driven two days after in disorder upon Turin. The advanced guard immediately took possession of Chivasso, whence it intercepted the passage of the Po, and seized a great many boats laden with provisions and wounded soldiers; and where on the 28th Buonaparte reviewed the vanguard, harangued and bestowed merited eulogiums on the corps that composed it. A feint having been made to throw a bridge of boats over the Po, Melas weakened his troops covering Turin and detached a large part of his forces to the right bank of that river to oppose the constructing of the bridge. This gave the First Consul an opportunity to operate upon Milan unmolested. An Austrian officer who was known to Buonaparte, came to have a parley at the outposts; the intelligence he carried back to Melas had the effect of a thunderbolt upon him. The whole Army of Reserve, with its artillery, arrived at Ivrea on the 26th and 27th of May. A corps of 2000 Italian refugees, under General Lecchi, had on the 21st moved from Chatillon upon the Upper Sesia, met with the legion of Rohan which it defeated, and taken up a position in the valley of Domo d'Ossola to secure the passes of the Simplon. Murat was at Vercelli; and Moncey's corps with 15,000 men detached from the Army of the Rhine, reached Belinzona on the 31st of May.

The head-quarters of the Austrian army were at

Turin, but half the forces were at Genoa, or scattered in the Col di Tende. In these circumstances three courses were open to Buonaparte. First, to march upon Turin, repulse Melas, join Turreau and open a communication with France: but this would be to risk a battle with a formidable enemy without a certain retreat, Fort Bard not being yet taken. Secondly, he might pass the Po, and join Massena under the walls of Genoa; but this would be liable to the same objection without any general object. Thirdly, he might leave Melas behind, retire upon Milan, and there join Moncey, who had just debouched by the St. Gothard. The last plan was the most eligible, and that which he fixed upon. For by being once in possession of Milan, he could secure all the magazines, *dépôts*, and hospitals of the enemy's army; give him battle with this incalculable advantage, that if beaten, he would have no retreat, while his own would be safe by the Simplon and St. Gothard; or if he chose, he might let Melas pass uninterrupted, and he would thus without striking a blow remain master of Lombardy, Piedmont, the territory of Genoa, and raise the blockade of that capital. The Simplon led to the Valais and Sion, whither the magazines of the French army had been forwarded. The St. Gothard led into Switzerland, which was covered by the Army of the Rhine then upon the Iller, and which had been for some time

in possession of the French, such precautions affording too strong a temptation to a people that are declared to be incapable of maintaining the usual relations of peace and amity!

On the 31st of May the First Consul moved rapidly upon the Ticino; and after a sharp resistance by the Austrian straggling troops (General Girard being the first to pass the river) the object was effected by the help of four small boats. He entered Milan on the 2d of June amidst the general rejoicing of the inhabitants, who were surprised at seeing him at the head of the troops, it having been reported that he had perished in the Red Sea. He remained here for six days, receiving deputations and shewing himself to the people, who welcomed him as their liberator. The government of the Cisalpine Republic was restored; but a considerable number of the warmest Italian patriots languished in the dungeons of Austria. How many more groan there at present! A proclamation was addressed to the army, promising them as the result of their efforts "unclouded glory and solid peace." General Moncey's division came slowly up. The First Consul reviewed them on the 6th and 7th of June, and on the 9th set out for Pavia, which Lannes had occupied on the 1st, as Duhesme's division had entered Lodi and Mantua without opposition just after. Murat surprised Placenza by a *coup-de-*

main, and intercepted a dispatch from Vienna full of the most groundless reports. Fort Bard had fallen on the 1st.

Melas now quitted Turin and appeared to direct his march on Alexandria to the right of the Po. The First Consul therefore detached Lapoype's division to line the Po from Pavia to the Doria Baltea, and to watch the side opposite Placenza; determining himself to move on Stradella, in order to cut off Melas from the road to Mantua and compel him to receive battle with his line of operations intersected by that river. General Lannes passed on the 6th at Belgiojoso, opposite Pavia; on the 8th Murat left Placenza, defeated an Austrian corps which had come up to attack him, and moved on Stradella, where the whole army was uniting. In the midst of these preparations, news came of the taking of Genoa, which had surrendered on the 4th. Besieged by the Austrians by land and blockaded by the English Admiral (Keith) by sea, it had been pressed by famine; the inhabitants grew impatient, and on the 2d of June the women assembled tumultuously, demanding "Bread or death!" Every thing was to be apprehended from hunger and despair; and Massena promised, if he were not relieved by the approach of some of Napoleon's troops in twenty-four hours, to capitulate. The next day Adjutant-General Andrieux, who was sent to General Ott to treat for

the evacuation of the place, met an Austrian staff-officer in the General's ante-chamber who was the bearer of a dispatch from Melas to raise the siege and to proceed in all haste upon the Po. Thus critically situated, he was glad to accede to Massena's proposals, and to let the French garrison of 10,600 men march out with their arms and baggage. Napoleon blames him for not marching at their head to join Suchet at Voltri and then facing about to attack the rear of the Austrians; but not knowing the real state of affairs, he had agreed to let them pass out without a leader, and proceeded himself with 1600 men in vessels to Antibes. Napoleon therefore had now to trust to himself alone. Ott left Hohenzollern in command of Genoa, and came up by forced marches to join the main body of the Austrian army on the Po. This reinforcement amounted to thirty battalions or about 18,000 men. Ott's grenadiers, which formed part of it, were accounted the flower of the Austrian troops.

On the evening of the 8th, the enemy's scouts came to observe the French bivouacs on the right bank of the Po. General Lannes with the whole French vanguard routed a body of 4000 or 5000 Austrians who advanced to attack him, not supposing the whole army to have crossed over; and at night he took up a position in view of the Austrian camp which occupied Montebello and Casteggio. He had no inducement to make an attack, having

only 8000 men, and expecting reinforcements from Victor's division which was only three leagues off; but the Austrian General brought on the battle at day-break. The contest was bloody. Lannes as well as the troops under him behaved with the greatest intrepidity. About mid-day Victor came up and decided the event. The field of battle was strewed with the dead. The Austrians fought desperately, being sensible of the danger they were in, and still bearing in mind the successes of the last campaign. They lost a great number of killed and prisoners. When the First Consul arrived on the ground, every thing was over. The troops, though worn out with fatigue, were overjoyed at their success. On the 10th, 11th, and 12th Buonaparte remained at Stradella, getting his army together, and securing its retreat by throwing two bridges across the Po. He sent messengers to Suchet to hasten his march upon the Scrivia. There was now nothing to hurry him, Genoa having fallen. It was dangerous to descend into the plain of Marengo to engage the enemy, who were greatly superior in cavalry and artillery, which could do little against his position at Stradella, with the Po and the adjoining marshes on his right, large villages in front, and considerable eminences to the left. During the battle of the 11th, Desaix, who had returned from Egypt and had been performing quarantine at

Toulon, arrived at the head-quarters at Montebello, with Rapp and Savary. The whole night was spent in conferences between him and the First Consul on all that had passed in Egypt since the latter had quitted it—the negociations of El-Arisch, the composition of the Grand Vizier's army, and the battle of Heliopolis. Desaix burned with eagerness to distinguish himself: he was immediately entrusted with the command of the division of Boudet.

Melas had his head-quarters and his whole army at Alexandria. He did not move, though his situation was critical and became more so every day, with Suchet in his rear and Buonaparte opposed to him in front with an imposing force. He might, however, either cut his way through the First Consul's army with superior numbers; or reach Milan by swift marches on the left bank of the Po, before the French could re-cross that river; or retreat upon Genoa, join the English squadron, and regain Mantua and the Adige by the ports of Italy. It was in providing against these various chances (some of which probably never entered Melas's head) that Napoleon nearly lost the battle of Marengo as he afterwards did that of Waterloo, by dividing his attention with over-jealous importunity over all that was possible, instead of confining his efforts to the main point. When all is at stake, it is better to guard against the worst

than to aim at the utmost point of perfection. In consequence, General Lapoype was ordered to fall back upon the Ticino, to intercept the enemy, should he be moving in that direction, and Desaix was dispatched to the extreme left to observe the high-road from Alexandria to Novi; while Buonaparte, uneasy at Melas's inaction, crossed the Scrivia on the morning of the 13th, and marched to San Juliano in the midst of the plain of Marengo, in vain looking for an enemy there. He slept that night at Torre di Garafola. Melas hearing of the advance of the French into the plain, recalled a detachment which he had sent against Suchet. The night of the 12th was passed in council. The blame of their situation was thrown upon the Austrian cabinet, who had listened to none but idle rumours; but they determined to fight their way out of it with arms in their hands. The chances were greatly in favour of the Austrians, who were superior in numbers and had three times as many cavalry as the French. The latter amounted to between 28,000 and 30,000 men.

On the 14th at break of day, the Austrians defiled by the bridges of the Bormida and made a furious attack on the village of Marengo, where Victor had established himself the day before. The resistance was obstinate for a long time. Buonaparte at the first sound of the cannon instantly sent orders to General Desaix, who was half a

day's march to the left, to return with his troops to San Juliano. The First Consul arrived on the field of battle at ten in the morning, just as the Austrians had carried Marengo and Victor's division, after a gallant defence, was giving way in the utmost disorder, the fugitives covering the plain, and crying out in dismay, "All is lost!" The enemy having taken Marengo advanced against General Lannes who was stationed in the rear of the village, and formed in line opposite the right wing of the French, already extending beyond it. The First Consul immediately ordered 800 grenadiers of the cavalry-guard, the best troops in the army, to station themselves a thousand yards behind Lannes, inclining to the right, in a good position to keep the enemy in check; and directed the division of Cara St. Cyr still farther on to Castel-Ceriolo, so as to flank the entire left of the enemy, while he himself with the 72d demi-brigade hastened to the support of Lannes. In the mean time, the soldiers perceiving the First Consul, in the midst of this immense plain, surrounded by his staff and 200 horse-grenadiers with their fur caps, the sight revived their hopes, and the fugitives of Victor's corps rallied near San Juliano in the rear of General Lannes's left. The latter, though attacked by the main body of the enemy's force, fought with such bravery and coolness that he took three hours to retreat only three quarters of

a league, exposed to the grape-shot of eighty pieces of cannon; at the same time that Cara St. Cyr by an inverse movement advanced upon the extreme right, and turned the left of the Austrian line.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, the corps of Desaix came up. On seeing the disorder of the troops, he said, "Well, it is a battle lost!" Buonaparte replied, "I think it is a battle gained." He made Desaix take a position in front of San Juliano. Melas who believed the victory decided, withdrew to Alexandria, overcome with fatigue, and left General Zach to finish the pursuit of the French army. The latter, thinking that this army was effecting its retreat by the road from Tortona, directed all his efforts to reach that place before them by carrying San Juliano at the point of the bayonet; though, had retreat been necessary, Buonaparte had at the commencement of the action ordered it between Tortona and Salo, and the Tortona road was of no importance. The division of Victor had now rallied, and shewed signs of impatience to renew the contest. All the cavalry was collected before San Juliano, on Desaix's right and Lannes's left. Balls and shells showered into the place; and Zach had already gained possession of a part of it with a column of 6000 grenadiers. The First Consul gave orders to General Desaix to charge this column with his fresh troops.

He proceeded to do so accordingly; but as he advanced at the head of a troop of 200 men, he was shot through the heart by a ball, and fell dead at the instant he had given the word to charge. By his death Napoleon was deprived of the man whom he esteemed most worthy to be his second in the field. He shed tears for his loss, never speaking of him afterwards without regret; and he was one of those who he believed would have remained faithful to him to the last. His death did not disconcert the troops, but inspired them with greater ardour to avenge it. General Boudet led them on. The 9th light demi-brigade did indeed prove itself worthy of the title of *Incomparable*. General Kellermann with 800 heavy horse at the same moment boldly charged the middle of the left flank of the column, cut it in two, and in less than half an hour these 6000 grenadiers were broken, dispersed, and put to flight. General Zach and all his staff were made prisoners.

Lannes immediately charged forward. Cara St. Cyr, who was to the right and flanked the enemy's left, was nearer the bridges of the Bormida than they were. The Austrian army was thrown into the utmost confusion and only thought of flight. From 8000 to 10,000 cavalry spread over the field, fearing St. Cyr's infantry might reach the bridge before them, retreated at full gallop, overturning all in their way. Victor's division

made all imaginable speed to resume its former position at the village of Marengo. The pressure and confusion at the bridges of the Bormida was extreme, and all who could not pass over fell into the power of the victor. It would be difficult to describe the astonishment and dismay of the Austrian army at this sudden change of fortune. General Melas, having no other resource, gave his troops the whole night to rally and take some repose, and the next morning at day-break sent a flag of truce with proposals for an armistice, by which the same day Genoa and all the fortified places in Piedmont, Lombardy, and the Legations were given up to the French army, and by which the Austrian army obtained leave to retire behind Mantua without being made prisoners of war. Thus was the conquest of all Italy achieved by a single blow.

Melas obtained such favourable terms from an apprehension that in case of a refusal he might still effect his junction with the English army of 20,000 men who had just arrived off Genoa and the Austrian garrison of 10,000 men at that place, and because the French had no strong-places in Italy. General Suchet marched upon Genoa and entered that city on the 24th of June, which was given up to him by Prince Hohenzollern to the great mortification of our troops who had come in sight of the port. The Italian fortresses were

successively given up to the French, and Melas passed with his army through Stradella and Placenza and took up a position behind Mantua. Soon after the battle of Marengo, the Italian patriots were released from the Austrian prisons and returned home amidst the congratulations of their countrymen and cries of "*Long live the Liberator of Italy!*" There were no Italians thrown into prison in Buonaparte's time. Either therefore the Italians must have been more favourably inclined to the new order of things or his rule was much milder than the Austrian. Buonaparte set out from Marengo for Milan on the 17th; he found the city illuminated, and a scene of the most animated rejoicings at the change which had taken place. Genoa recovered its Republican form of government. The Austrians when in possession of Piedmont had not reinstated the King of Sardinia on his throne, notwithstanding the expostulations of the Russians, nor allowed him to approach Turin. The First Consul established a provisional government in Piedmont, and appointed General Jourdan to superintend it, in order to give him a mark of his confidence, and to efface old misunderstandings. Massena, notwithstanding his unlucky surrender of Genoa, and as an acknowledgment of his services at the battle of Zurich, was left in the chief command of the Army of Italy.

In France the news of the battle of Marengo was at first scarcely credited. The first account that reached Paris was brought by a commercial express who had set out from the field of battle between ten and twelve o'clock, and reported that the French army had been totally defeated. This only made the contrast more striking, when the victory over the enemy was made known with all its attendant advantages to the Republic. But can it be believed (as it is said) that on this mere report of a defeat all the intriguers were in motion to displace the First Consul and place Carnot at the head of the Government in his stead? Oh! ever prone to run before opinion, and to rivet disgrace upon themselves by shrinking from all participation in misfortune! It may be supposed that Buonaparte took no slight umbrage at this meditated dereliction, and looked gloomy on his return amidst all the lustre which wreathed his brow, perhaps presaging future disloyalty, or brooding over sweet and bitter thoughts of the curbs which such a people required! He is said from this time to have conceived a jealousy and distaste to Carnot, which subsequent bickerings did not diminish. They came together at last in the common cause, in the pass of Thermopylæ! This story however rests on no good authority, though it is not *im*probable in itself. The soldiers of the Army of

the Rhine when they heard of the battle of Marengo were ashamed of having done so little, and avowed a noble emulation not to lay down their arms till they had done something to match it. The battle of Hohenlinden followed not long after. Moreau pursued his victory, taking possession of Salzburg: Augereau, at the head of the Gallo-Batavian Army, penetrated into Bohemia, and Macdonald passing through the Grison country into the Valteline, formed a communication with Massena. The peace of Luneville was the reluctant consequence, by which Tuscany was ceded to France, and the whole left bank of the Rhine. Each of these conditions was peculiarly galling to the Emperor, because Tuscany belonged to his brother; and as to the provinces on the Rhine, he objected to giving away what was not his to bestow. Had the question been to take what did not belong to him, there would have been less difficulty.

Buonaparte set out for Paris the 24th of June through Turin, crossed Mount Cenis, and stopped at Lyons for some time to gratify the curiosity of the inhabitants and to lay the first stone of the Place Bellecour, which had been pulled down in the beginning of the Revolution. He arrived at Paris on the 2d of July, unexpectedly and in the middle of the night; but the next day, as soon as the news was spread abroad, every one ran to testify their eagerness and joy; the labouring

classes left their occupations, and the whole city thronged round the court and windows of the Thuilleries to see him to whom France owed another respite from bondage with such unlooked-for triumphs. At night every house was illuminated, even the poorest inhabitants taking part in the general rejoicing. It was a day, like which few occur in history; yet in this instance how many such were crowded into the life of a single man! The Pillar of Victory still stands in the Place Vendôme; and the French, reduced to their natural dimensions, sometimes stop to wonder at it.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE INFERNAL MACHINE.

FOREIGN war and intestine commotions having failed, recourse was next had to assassination, to get rid of the head of a government which promised no stability, and every truce or peace with which was held to be a kind of profanation—or null and void, like a forced compact with robbers. Both the Royalists and Jacobins agreed in this as their *forlorn hope;* the last seeing in Buonaparte an immediate obstacle to the execution of their plans, the former seeing in him (let his acts and pretensions be what they would) the utter extinction of the principle from which, according to them, all power ought to flow. This coincidence alone, had they been capable of attending to any thing but their own headstrong will which they mistake for reason, should have given the violent Republicans pause; for "the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of the light," and the satellites of power are led by an infallible instinct to what promotes their cause, are steady and consistent, and always take the surest means to their one sole end. The friends of liberty on

principle (divided as they are among themselves and distracted by various theories) have only to look as a practical guide to their conduct to the enemies of liberty on principle. They cannot be far out, while they oppose the common foe face to face and hand to hand. As long as Buonaparte remained a stumbling-block and a bugbear to the latter and they bent all their efforts of open force or recret machination against him, he should have been still regarded as on the broadest scale, the refuge and the rock of salvation of the popular side. They might wish to get rid of him as a matter of taste or reasoning: in point of fact, they could not do without him. He himself had great dread of the Jacobins, as was but natural, and which shewed the secret affinity between his cause and theirs. "'Tis conscience that makes cowards of us all." He knew from experience what their feelings and principles were; and as the attraction was stronger, the repugnance and struggle to disentangle himself from them was proportionably violent, as men hate the vices to which they are most prone. As to the opposite pretensions, they appeared to him like mere shadows or a faded pageant. He never entered into the essence of royalty, or he would not have trusted himself to it. He might assume it as a robe, but it never made a part of the man. He on this account pronounced royalism to be a disease of the

skin, but Jacobinism to be "an internal disorder," because he felt it within himself. He declared that "with a company of grenadiers he would put the whole Fauxbourg St. Germain to flight, but that the Jacobins were an incorrigible set to deal with." It would not appear so by the event. If the first are easily put to flight, at least they return to the charge; and they do so, because they are governed not by reason but by custom, and are the creatures not of circumstances or experience, but of implicit faith and old allegiance. The motto of legitimacy and of all belonging to it is in a word inveterate prejudice without reflection and power borrowed from accident: Buonaparte was originally and unalterably the reverse of this, the very counterpart and antidote to it; intellect without prejudice and inherent power and greatness. He did not even seem to comprehend the reverence due to antiquated absurdity nor the omnipotence of eternal imbecility.

The first attempt made was by some discontented Italian patriots.—Arena, brother to the deputy who was said to have aimed a dagger at Buonaparte in the Council of Five Hundred, with whom were united Ceracchi and Diana, two Italian refugees, Topino Lebrun, a painter, and two or three more enthusiasts in a low condition of life. Italians have long been in the habit of resorting to the dagger for a worse cause than that

of removing a tyrant or imitating the example of their countryman Brutus. One of these men had been a great admirer of Buonaparte, and had made a statue of him during his first campaigns in Italy; but he afterwards grew dissatisfied with his conduct, and determined to take his life. For this purpose, he solicited permission to make another model; but his heart failed him when the time came. The conspirators then formed a plan to assassinate the Chief Consul at the Opera-House. They were betrayed by an accomplice, and two of them, Ceracchi and Diana, were arrested by the police behind the scenes, armed and prepared to execute their design. Buonaparte spoke slightly of the attempt: "a look," he said, "from his brave guard would have disconcerted them." The circumstances were not made public, nor were the conspirators brought to trial till the repetition of similar attempts seemed to make an example necessary. Yet on such frail threads did the hopes of cabinets at this time depend that Talleyrand declared in the Council of State that "the affair of Ceracchi and his associates had interrupted all diplomatic communications for a considerable time, particularly with the Emperor of Russia, who broke off a treaty in consequence, and made it necessary to re-open the campaign!"

Soon after, a man of the name of Chevalier with another named Veycer, who belonged to the

old *terrorist* faction, contrived a plan to kill the First Consul by means of an *Infernal Machine*, or a barrel of gunpowder stuck round with grape-shot and pieces of old iron, and placed in such a manner as by the assistance of a slow match to explode at the moment when the First Consul was passing through the street. A man who had been employed to lay caltrops, so that the carriage could not move on, told his suspicions to the police. The experiment was tried in the outskirts of Paris, and the explosion led to the discovery and arrest of the parties, so that the scheme never came to any thing, though it was hushed up for reasons of policy. The Royalists became acquainted with these men in prison and with the plot they had hatched, and readily conceiving that "the sovereign'st thing on earth" was such a remedy for a desperate cause, in their hands it had very nearly produced the effect intended by it. A letter from the Count de Lille to Buonaparte, inviting him to restore the crown of France to him, having been answered with cold politeness, and a mission of the beautiful Duchess of Guiche to Paris to insinuate the same gracious project having ended in her receiving orders to quit the country, it was time to exchange these persuasive arts for stronger measures. On the evening of the 10th of October 1800, Buonaparte had agreed to go to the Opera; but afterwards being unwell or fa-

tigued by business, changed his mind and wished to stay at home. Josephine and one or two friends who were with him persisted in urging him to go, and came to a couch where he had fallen asleep and waked him at the time. One brought him his hat, another his sword. He was in a manner forced into his carriage, where he again fell fast asleep and was dreaming of passing the Tagliamento, when all of a sudden he awoke amidst noise and flame. He had passed this river in great peril by torch-light three or four years before, when his carriage was set afloat by the stream; and the flashes of fire and sudden lifting up of the carriage by the explosion on the present occasion, no doubt, produced the coincidence in his dream. The circumstances were these. A cart bearing the barrel of gunpowder with the other implements of destruction as described above, had been placed by two of the conspirators, Carbon and St. Regent (who had been Chouan chiefs) at the corner of the Rue St. Nicaise, where the First Consul had to pass, in such a manner as to intercept the progress of the carriage which had hardly room to get by. St. Regent had set fire to the match at the appointed instant; but the coachman, who was intoxicated, driving unusually fast, the carriage had passed the machine a second or two before it went off, which defeated the project. The explosion was

terrible. It reached the horse of the last man of Buonaparte's guard, shattered the windows of the carriage, killed eight persons, wounded twenty-eight (among the rest the incendiary St. Regent), and damaged a great number of houses. The report was heard for several miles round Paris. Buonaparte immediately exclaimed to Lannes and Bessieres who were with him in the coach, "We are blown up!" They would have stopped the carriage, but he ordered it to drive on, and arrived in safety at the Opera, where the noise had been heard, and where his entrance, together with the disordered looks of his attendants caused great agitation; but the calm appearance of the First Consul re-assured the audience, and the performance, which was Haydn's *Creation*, went on. Buonaparte's coachman, Cæsar, remained the whole time insensible of what had happened, and had taken the explosion for the firing of a salute: but a dinner having been given him by his brother-coachmen in honour of his escape, a hackney-coachman who was present said he knew who had played him the trick, having seen the cart issue from a stable-yard near which he took up his stand; and this clue led to the discovery of the real authors of the conspiracy.

In the mean time, Buonaparte was furious against the Jacobins and against the Minister of Police, whom he accused of conniving at their plots and

machinations. At several Councils of State which were held upon the subject, he declaimed against the metaphysicians, went back to the Septembrisers, the affair of Babœuf, the 31st of May, constantly exonerated the priests and the Royalists, and charged the whole upon a handful of miscreants, who were invariably at war with all established governments and with the peace of society. Fouché by his sullenness and reserve did not remove these suspicions, though he persisted in ascribing the attempt to the Chouans and their party. The First Consul wished for an act of summary justice against the remains of the Jacobins, which after several impatient discussions and considerable reluctance on the part of the Council of State and the Legislative Body he obtained; and 130 of the principal agitators (men obnoxious from their share in the Reign of Terror, such as Choudieu, Taillefer, Thirion, Talot, Felix Lepelletier, Rossignol, and others) underwent a sentence of transportation, which was carried into instant effect, though some of them were allowed to return at a subsequent period. An attempt was made by Berlier * to save two of them, Talot and

* At the time that Buonaparte was accused of favouring the Royalists too much, he addressed Madame Monge, and said, "You will be satisfied with me to-day, I have appointed three Jacobins to the Council of State."—"Who are they, First Consul?"—"Réal, Brune, and Berlier," was the reply.

Destrem, from being punished for a crime of which it was very soon known they had not been guilty; but this met with a cold reception from the First Consul, who said they had been condemned as enemies of the State, and referred in proof to the act of the Legislative Body, in which not a word was said of the 10th of October. This was vindicating injustice by chicanery.

A month after the affair had happened, the Minister of Police made his report on the attempt of the Infernal Machine. He had the contrivers in his custody; and they turned out (as he had all along predicted) to be agents of the Royalist party. He entered into a detailed account of the plot to assassinate the First Consul as brought over from England by Georges Cadoudal in the November preceding, of the landing of his accomplices Carbon, Joyan, Lincelan, St. Regent, &c., of their intrigues, and the impenetrable mystery which involved them. At length, the horse which had been fastened to the Infernal Machine afforded some traces; and led to the seizure of Carbon, who being found secreted in the house of two nuns, Madame Goyon and Madame de Cicé, made a discovery of the whole affair. These gentlewomen, in secreting a public assassin, were doubtless influenced by mistaken motives of piety and loyalty. St. Regent and Carbon were condemned, and suffered on the scaffold,

though they were tried before the ordinary tribunals and in common course of law; which made the arbitrary decree which had been passed against a number of innocent individuals appear in a more unfavourable light. Nothing can excuse Buonaparte on this occasion but the imminent peril he was in, and the previous attempts against his life by fanatics of the same party, which had worked up his old grudge against them to a pitch of violent irritation; and which having once fixed his purpose, he would not relinquish it when the immediate grounds were removed. It is hard for a man to be shot at like carrion because he is not a piece of well-preserved mummy by one party or a man of straw by the other; and in the distraction of the moment, he will wreak his vengeance on the first object that presents itself. I cannot help entertaining some doubt, that there was from the beginning an understanding between Fouché and Buonaparte, and that the detection of the true conspirators was postponed till the blow had been struck against the pretended ones, who were equally formidable to him, whether he looked to past events or future contingencies. If they could not brook the First Consul, how should the Emperor escape? The silence and inaction of so complete a double-dealer as Fouché are suspicious. The other conspirators, Chevalier and Veycer, and Arena, Ceracchi, and their coadjutors were soon

after tried and executed. The Republican faction made no more attempts of the kind. It was not till after repeated experience that Buonaparte became convinced, that those who act on their own impulses and from a love of liberty and independence are less dangerous than those combinations, wherein the casting of the parts the principals are safe and remote, and where the subordinate agents are merely blind and servile instruments in the hands of their superiors. The bands of *Chauffeurs* or Chouans who infested the public roads, and kept up a daring and clandestine communication between intriguers in the capital and foreign powers were the occasion of the appointment of a special tribunal to try such offices. No coach could venture to leave Paris without a guard of four soldiers. This has been considered as a stretch of ungovernable ambition and a stride to absolute power. It was surely a measure also of private self-defence and public safety. The Orangemen are supposed to justify the promulgation of military law in Ireland; as a few spouting-clubs produced the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* in England.—When Mr. Fox was over in Paris in 1802, he used to have frequent and warm disputes with the First Consul on the subject of the Infernal Machine, the latter laying the blame of it on the English Government, and the former vehemently repelling the charge on the ground that

no Englishman would lend his countenance to assassination. This argument shewed his own patriotism and honesty: but the feelings of a nation change with its maxims, and these are impaired by the cause in which you embark and the associates whom you select. Mr. Wyndham in his love of paradox and extreme abhorrence of the principles of Jacobinism might see the matter in a very different light. It might be thought a courtesy to foreign manners as well as a compliment to foreign princes — who were frantically calling out, "Give us a tomb or a throne!"—adroitly to remove the great impediment to the latter; and members of the British Cabinet might be found then as well as twenty years after to ask, — "What is the death of General Buonaparte to us," whether owing to a sudden explosion or a lingering climate? *

* For a further elucidation of a certain under-tone in English casuistry on this subject at the period referred to, see an elaborate article on tyrannicide in a paper called "The Friend," by S. T. Coleridge. "The ghost is an honest ghost," and speaks, I'll be bound, no more than was set down for him. This shews how much the national spirit must have been altered, and how strong the tide must have set in to the support of legitimacy by the most unwarrantable means, when the finest intellects could not escape the general contagion, and could only avoid general obloquy by withdrawing into privacy or lending themselves to the basest prostitution.

CHAPTER XXX.

PEACE OF AMIENS.

BUONAPARTE had erected Tuscany into a kingdom, and given it to the Duke of Parma, an Infant of the House of Spain, under the title of the King of Etruria. He and his wife* paid a visit to Paris in May 1801. It was on this occasion that the audience at the theatre enthusiastically applied to Buonaparte the verse—

"J'ai fait des rois, Madame, et n'ai pas voulu l'être."

The Count of Leghorn (for it was under this title that he travelled) turned out a very poor creature according to common report, and it was on this account that Buonaparte had him shewn ostenta-

* Maria-Louisa, sister of Ferdinand VII. of Spain, since Duchess of Lucca. The late Duchess of Lucca was universally hated for her avarice, insolence, and duplicity. To give an instance of the manner in which these people make use of religion and authority as a screen for the most monstrous or the most petty vices, she had ordered a costly chandelier to ornament her private chapel; but the tradesman who had made it, knowing her utter disregard of pecuniary obligations, was unwilling to part with it till he had been paid the money. On this, she prevailed upon him to hang it up under pretence of seeing the effect. "There!" says she, "now it is consecrated property; take it down at your peril!"

tiously about, "to let people see how a king was made. It was enough to disgust them with royalty." There was more policy than honesty in this proceeding. It might seem by this as if he had not at the time a design of becoming one himself, though still it was tampering, as it were, with the subject; and it was obvious to infer that the diadem which he gave to another, he might bind on his own brow. He must certainly feel that he was made of very different stuff from ordinary kings. When I think of that fine head (so unlike a crowned head), of those Republican bands led by freedom to victory, of that severe and almost antique simplicity of aspect which France presented as a contrast to the Gothic frippery of her old government and the rest of Europe, I am still willing to believe that the changes which were afterwards carried into effect were alien to his own breast, were a concession to those who prefer the tinsel to the gold, and were forced from him (in sullen scorn and defiance) by the persevering determination to annul and disallow all claims (how sterling or lofty soever) but those which were founded on external sound and shew. We shall see that he himself speaks with great confidence and complacency of the favourable impression made on foreign Courts by his surrounding himself with the usual paraphernalia and symbols of power.

The Allies certainly reckoned on the loose and

fluctuating mass of power in France, as the great means of disuniting and subduing it, either by want of concert in the armies or by the collision of the different factions. The danger on this side, at least, Buonaparte averted by taking the reins into his own hands, and giving unity and stability to the State; and come what would, France thus secured the great principle of the Revolution, the right of changing her existing government for one more congenial to it; like England, which had altered the succession, but retained the forms of her established Constitution. The Continental Powers saw the advantages which the new Government derived from the change; and though they did not hate it less, feared it more:—

——— "Like to a sort of steers,
'Mongst whom some beast of strange and foreign guise
Unwares has chanced, far straying from his peers;
So did their ghastly gaze betray their hidden fears."

The Emperor Paul alone, the most rash and splenetic amongst them, seemed to swallow the bait entire; and disappointed at the ill-successes of his troops under Suwarrow, and disgusted with the exclusive maritime claims set up by the English and their selfish conduct, made common cause with Buonaparte, and gave himself up to his admiration of the man as a kind of infatuation, disregarding the political principle for the sake of the dramatic effect. This soon led to his own tragic end. His

new associate did not neglect the opportunity to ingratiate himself with Paul. The English had refused his request to give up Malta to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem; Buonaparte sent him the sword which Pope Leo X. had given to the Grand Master, L'Ile Adam, for his defence of Rhodes against the Turks. The English ministry refused to include 8000 or 10,000 Russian soldiers taken either in Italy or in Holland under the Duke of York's command, in an exchange of prisoners; Buonaparte had them collected together, clothed and equipped, and sent back to Russia. Napoleon also sent a French actress to St. Petersburgh. The Queen of Naples, alarmed at the part her Court had lately taken against the French, and at the defeat of General Damas soon after the battle of Marengo, made a journey express to Petersburgh to solicit the intercession of the Emperor Paul; and at his request Buonaparte spared Naples. The Czar was overpowered with so many marks of courtesy and generosity. He was ready to run his errands, to do his bidding, to "put a girdle round about the earth" or close up the passage of the seas for him. He lent a favourable ear to a project for marching a joint army of French and Russian troops through Persia to the Indus, and entered heart and hand into the armed neutrality of the North. He addressed a letter to Buonaparte couched in these terms: "Citizen First Consul—I do not write to

you to discuss the rights of men or citizens; every country governs itself as it pleases. Wherever I see at the head of a nation a man who knows how to rule and how to fight, my heart is attracted towards him. I write to acquaint you with my dissatisfaction with England, who violates every article of the law of nations, and has no guide but her egotism and interest. I wish to unite with you to put an end to the unjust proceedings of that government." This alludes to the encroachments at this time made by the English in the right of search at sea, very necessary perhaps as a measure of security to give her the uncontrolled command of the sea, but contrary to old established custom and to all previous treaties. The Americans, disgusted with the violence of the Directory, and provoked by the attempts of Talleyrand at peculation, had for some time sided with the English and nearly gone to war with France; but the steps taken by the First Consul restored the friendly intercourse between the two nations. Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, who were at peace with England, enraged at seeing their fleets and vessels stopped on the high seas as interlopers by English cruisers, and dragged into English ports as felons, joined with Russia to resist such arbitrary and unadmitted claims. The Emperor published an edict to seize on all British goods and subjects in his dominions; the three great northern fleets

were to assemble in the Baltic and to be prepared to act offensively in the spring of 1801. The Danes took possession of Hamburgh, thus cutting off the navigation of the Elbe; and Prussia, like a gaunt hound, did not scruple to seize on Hanover (the independence of which it was especially bound to guarantee) as a mark of the good faith and disinterestedness of regular governments towards each other. This maritime coalition was broken up by two events, by the gallant and desperate attack of Nelson on the Danish fleet in the Sound (in which he ran all the risks of bravery and genius, though with less than his wonted success); and by the death of the Emperor Paul, who was assassinated in the night of the 23d of March 1801, by those of his own household. His son succeeded him. The death of a sovereign seemed to cost little, so that the sovereignty survived; the historic Muse did not put on mourning for the occasion, nor did Europe talk of waging eternal war against those who had thus staggered the person of an anointed king. The ashes of a monarch are no more than common dust, unless when the tree of liberty rises out of them; as regicide, sacrilege, treason are words of slight import, provided they are not coupled with the rights and happiness of millions. It is then that both princes and people stand aghast, and (strange as it may seem) league together for mutual safety

and support! On the arrival of the news in London, instead of the Russian Ambassador receiving his passports, Lord St. Helen's proceeded forthwith to Petersburgh. Buonaparte, who might think they would use little ceremony with him, if they turned round in this manner on one of their own *clique*, was the only person who seemed shocked at it; and his ministers had some difficulty in recalling to his mind that it was no more than the common mode of disposing of arbitrary sovereigns in despotic countries. Paul's successor, not willing to afford a similar triumph to the zealots of religion and social order, hearkened to the counsels of his father's murderers. The Northern Powers acquiesced (perforce) in the maritime claims advanced by England; Denmark gave up Hamburgh, Prussia let go its grasp on Hanover, and things remained much on the same footing as before on that side of the Continent. Soon after, in June 1801, Buonaparte, in concert with Spain, marched an army into Portugal, took Olivenza and Almeida, and forced the Prince-Regent of Portugal (who was son-in-law to the King of Spain, and the close and strenuous ally of England) to conclude a separate peace and shut its ports against the English. In the mean time, Malta had surrendered to the English fleet; and the French forces in Egypt, attacked and beaten by the British army under Sir Ralph Abercrombie,

who was killed in making good his landing in March 1801, were compelled to capitulate and return to France in June the same year. Thus the English remained masters at sea, the French by land; each nation had pushed its advantages to the utmost; and this state of equilibrium and uncertainty what farther to attempt, if not an argument for peace (considering the objects at stake and the irritation of political feeling), was at least a favourable opportunity for taking breath and collecting all their strength for the meditated blow, before this unnatural struggle was renewed to the complete triumph or absolute destruction of one or the other party. France fought for its own existence or for the continuance of the new order of things, and in this object it had triumphed; England fought confessedly (or with a purpose, if only darkly avowed, not the less fixed and rooted) for the re-establishment of the ancient order of things or of what was called social order, which could not be effected without the total subjection of France. In this object it had failed; and therefore it was easy to foresee (according to the common course of events and operation of men's passions) on which side the temptation with the watchful desire to renew the contest would lie—on theirs who had secured the object for which they took up arms, or on theirs who had been baffled in their attempts to dictate a government to another country on the plea of

just and necessary defence, which plea could never be wanting while a hope remained or an opportunity offered for overturning the independence and government of the rival State. There was time enough for bringing this great and mighty question to an issue; and there was no danger that the motives for recurring to it would cease with intermission or reflection. The sense of disappointed revenge does not rankle less in the breast of monarchs for being long brooded over; and peace or war is always in their own hands. It is easy to make or find the pretexts. Besides, new ones were wanted, the old ones not only having failed of success, but being the least palateable possible. The Peace of Amiens, therefore, was acceded to after some reluctance and "face-making," not to prevent future animosities and effect a true reconciliation, but it was a sponge to wipe out old scores and begin the game over again on a new ground.—Some threats were indeed thrown out, and some preparations were made after the evacuation of Egypt for an invasion of England; but these were neither serious nor formidable, and ended in nothing but Lord Nelson's scouring the Channel so that not an enemy's fishing-boat could appear in it and blockading the French flotilla in the harbour of Boulogne. The preliminaries of peace were signed 10th October, 1801, to the general joy of the people of Great Britain; but so much did the swallowing of

this bitter pill go against the stomach of the higher authorities, that it took five months, till the March of the following year, to adjust the particulars of the treaty. Mr. Pitt went out of office on the occasion, and Mr. Addington succeeded to keep his place warm for him on his return to it. The colonies which the English had taken during the war (which was all they had got by it) were for the most part restored; Malta was to be given up under a general guarantee to the Knights of St. John; and it was the refusal to comply with this stipulation that was the immediate cause of the renewal of the war a twelvemonth after.—To resume the account of one or two other points.

Buonaparte, soon after his accession to the management of affairs, proposed to strike from the list of emigrants all but those who had held an important rank or taken a distinguished part in foreign armies or in the bands of insurgent royalists; or those among the clergy who refused to take the oaths of allegiance to the government. In consequence, they presented themselves in crowds and of all classes, and nearly all the members of the First Constituent Assembly, who had fled, returned to France. During the absence of the First Consul in Italy, at the time of the battle of Marengo, Cambaceres had gone beyond his instructions in enlarging the list of exceptions: on his return Napoleon found among the number of those

who were allowed to come back; several great names that had borne arms against France. He testified considerable dissatisfaction and chagrin at this. He consulted with Berlier whether these erasures could not be recalled, as having been procured by false certificates of civism. "There are five or six thousand emigrants," he said, "whom it is at all events necessary to prevent from returning to the country to trouble its repose, unless they pass over our dead bodies. But out of a hundred thousand persons wandering in exile, the most dangerous and hostile have contrived to return because they could afford to bribe the police; a duke could get himself struck off the list, while a poor man remained on it." On an objection being made to the unpopularity of some part of the laws respecting emigration, the First Consul replied, "What signifies the opinion of the saloons and busy-bodies? There is only one opinion that I care for, that of the common peasants." Not long after, to shew the temper and views of the class of persons thus readmitted (as it were on their *parole*) to the bosom of their country, Buonaparte was at the theatre to witness a play, called "Edward in Scotland," in which the emigrants and royalists made constant applications of different passages to the Bourbons, and found a parallel between the Consular Government and the succession of the House of Hanover; and it was observed that the

most violent and continued interruption proceeded from a box directly opposite the First Consul's, belonging to the Duke of Choiseul, one of the emigrants who had been shipwrecked at Calais some years before, and whom Buonaparte had released from prison. The piece was suppressed, and the emigrants and royalists exclaimed bitterly against the tyranny of the First Consul.* Such were the difficulties and straits to which he was reduced by the attempt to reconcile different prejudices and parties, the safety of the State with humanity towards individuals, the foundations of liberty with the exercise of power. It would have been easy for Buonaparte to have lent himself to either extreme of old prejudices or new principles, but to combine and hold the balance between them was not so easy. He might have brought back the Bourbons or the Revolutionary Tribunals; or he might have permitted the uncontrolled liberty of the press and been covered with the imputation of crimes like a leprosy; or have suppressed the police and laid his breast bare to the assassin's knife; or suffered the Allies to overrun France without striking a blow; or have retired into private life with the *bonhommie*

* Dupatel, the author of a piece called "The Three Valets," and which was erroneously supposed to reflect on the three Consuls, had every amends made him by Napoleon for the first ebullition of his resentment, as soon as the mistake was discovered.

and self-denial of a simple citizen; and he would have pleased many people. But how to enforce authority in the midst of party rage without being accused of tyranny; how to repel the aggressions of all Europe without being railed at as a conqueror; how to secure the peace and tranquillity without infringing on the freedom of the country, how to conciliate religious scruples without bringing back the spirit of intolerance and superstition; how to avail himself of powerful interests and great bodies in the State without attacking liberal institutions and the rights of all; these were problems which it was beyond the power of the strictest logic or the giddiest romance to answer. Had he tried to hold the balance less even between the conflicting interests, or had he inclined, whenever there was a doubt, to the right instead of the expedient, I do not say he would have succeeded better, but I think he would have deserved to succeed better. Being himself new, he should have taken his stand on what was new; and all public acts and institutions having a prospective operation, instead of cleaving to antiquity, should make an advance to futurity, for that is the direction in which the world moves, not backwards but forwards. Or what was temporary, and arising out of actual emergencies, might have been arbitrary; what was permanent, ought to have been just and liberal. It is not true, however, that he owed his ruin to his running counter to the liberal

maxims and spirit of the age; these indeed failed him when he needed their support, and they his;—had he appealed to them sooner, they would perhaps have sooner betrayed or compromised him by their imbecility or violence. The only obstacle he found fatal or insurmountable was the besotted bigotry of Spain, or the barbarous attachment of the Russians to the soil on which they are serfs. It will hardly be insisted that the opposition of England would have been disarmed by his making nearer approaches to the standard of modern philosophy. He himself said, that "it had been wished for him to have been a Washington; but that had Washington been in his place, surrounded with discord within and invasion without, he would have defied him to have done as he did." In the discussions of the Council of State, Cambaceres was considered as representing the opinions of the old aristocracy, Lebrun those of the modern republicans: Buonaparte was called the *consolidated third;* and in acting as umpire between the two and listening to their arguments, had not the less difficulty in mastering both.

The Concordat, though a favourite and long-meditated scheme, was attended with many difficulties in the execution and unpleasant consequences in the sequel. After the battle of Marengo, Napoleon had ordered Murat, who had marched against the Neapolitan troops, to spare

Rome, and had restored his temporal dominions to the Pope; in return for which he was to give to France her old religion and a new sovereign. The treaty was signed the 18th of September 1801. A proclamation of the Consuls notified the re-establishment of the Catholic worship some time after; and on Easter Sunday (1802), the new ordonnance was solemnly carried into effect at Paris. All the great bodies of the state, the civil authorities, and the Consuls repaired with great pomp and ceremony to the Church of Notre-Dame. As a proof how little regular progress had been made in etiquette, there were still several hackney-coaches in the procession. It was on this occasion for the first time that the household of the First Consul put on livery. An invitation had been addressed to the public functionaries and members of the diplomatic body to follow the example. Mass was performed with pontifical magnificence by Cardinal Caprara. The new bishops took the oath of allegiance to the Republic. After a discourse delivered by M. de Boisgelin, Archbishop of Tours (the same who had preached the sermon on the coronation of Louis XVI.) a *Te Deum* for the general peace and the re-establishment of the church concluded this religious ceremony, with which every kind of military pomp was mingled, and which was announced to the capital in the morning by dis-

charges of artillery. At night there was an illumination and concert in the garden of the Thuilleries. The peace of Amiens and the Concordat became the favourite subjects of the French artists. The Exhibition of that year was resplendent with allegorical cars of victory and triumphal arches of peace, as fine and as evanescent as the rainbow!

The military had a great repugnance to the new arrangement, and there was some art used in getting them to attend the ceremony at Notre-Dame. Berthier invited the principal to breakfast with him, whence he took them to the First Consul's levee, so that they could not excuse themselves from accompanying him. On their return, Buonaparte asked Delmas what he thought of the ceremony? He replied, "It was an admirable *capucinade.* All that was wanting to complete it was a million of men who have sacrificed their lives to overturn what you are trying to re-establish!" This sarcasm did not go unpunished. Rapp, who was privileged to say what he pleased, being asked if he should go to mass, answered the First Consul in the negative; but added he had no objection to the priests, "provided he did not make them his aides-de-camp or his cooks." In fact, from the little esteem in which they are held, the French priests to this day look like fellows who have stolen something. In Italy, they have none of this

dejected, sneaking look! After the Concordat the decade was regularly exchanged for the week, and the public offices were shut on Sundays. The adoption of the new system cost Napoleon more uneasiness and trouble than was suspected. The refractory priests gave themselves great airs upon it; the Pope became more untractable than before. The clergy were constantly urging claims inconsistent with the existing laws and manners of society; and with any other man than Buonaparte, would certainly have resumed their ancient preponderance or brought new calamities on themselves. Scandalous scenes ensued. The curate of the church of St. Roch having refused to read the funeral service over the remains of a Mademoiselle Chameroi, a female opera-dancer, the populace were near stoning him; and Monge said dryly, "It was a dispute of one set of actors against another." The First Consul put a stop to these proceedings; but was it possible to suppress the spirit in which they originated, and which lurked under the cowl and surplice, like the plague in tainted robes?

The affairs of St. Domingo were another rock on which this double policy split. What was he to make of that gigantic group of black heads ranged round the standard of revolt? Was he to proclaim their unqualified enfranchisement and natural independence and to extend to them all the benefits of the Declaration of Rights, in disregard of circum-

stances and consequences?. This cosmopolite philanthropy would be contrary to all his maxims and principles of government. Was he to resolve on their absolute subjugation or indiscriminate slaughter? This would be equally repugnant to humanity and prudence. What then was he to do? After considering whether he could not play off the men of colour against them (like chess-men on a board) he resolved with great justice and moderation to adopt a middle course, that is, to maintain the system which Toussaint-Louverture had established, to disarm the men of colour, to extend Toussaint's authority over the whole colony, to appoint him commander-in-chief of St. Domingo, and to confirm his regulations respecting the civil liberty and voluntary labour of the blacks. All now went on well for two years (1800 and 1801). But Toussaint himself defeated the friendly intentions of the First Consul and the prospects of his countrymen, instigated, according to Buonaparte, by the English, who foresaw the ruin of their own system, should the blacks restrain themselves within the bounds of moderation and propriety in submission to the mother-country. Toussaint threw off his dependence and set up for himself. It is curious to hear Buonaparte's complaints on this occasion. He says, "To give an idea of the indignation which the First Consul must have felt, it may suffice to mention that

Toussaint not only assumed authority over the colony during his life, but invested himself with the right of naming his successor; and pretended to hold his authority not from the mother-country, but from a *soi-disant* colonial assembly which he had created." Recourse was therefore had to the former scheme of joining with the men of colour against the blacks, and General Le Clerc was sent out with a considerable armament for this purpose. The expedition was at first successful, and Toussaint surrendered himself and was suffered to remain in the island; but being afterwards detected in a clandestine correspondence with the English, he was seized and sent a prisoner to France, where he died in consequence of his confinement. The war after his departure broke out afresh; the most shocking excesses were committed on both sides; and Le Clerc with a great part of his troops having fallen victims to the yellow fever, the negroes remained in possession of the government of the island. To shew the severity of Buonaparte's character in public affairs, he compelled his sister Pauline (the wife of General Le Clerc) to accompany him on this hazardous expedition, in order to lessen the dread which was entertained of it. The behaviour of Buonaparte to the colonists has been violently censured both by friends and foes. His conduct was not certainly modelled on the maxim — *Fiat justitia, ruat cœlum;* it was not

that of a romantic and impassioned enthusiast in the cause of negro emancipation; neither was it (as has been pretended) that of a fiend, but a great deal too much of an ordinary statesman and man of the world. His detractors might learn, with a little self-reflection, from their censures of him to form a juster estimate of their own idols. The worst of his actions are only on a par (a degrading one, I own) with the best of theirs. A similar treatment of a revolted colony of ours would make a brilliant episode in the life of a Lord Melville or a Lord Bathurst. Buonaparte at first shewed every consideration for the blacks; and he only grew moody and exasperated when he found her chief colony torn from France and in danger of being thrown into the hands of England. His jealousy on that head instantly turned the scale. Alas! the way to outstrip us would have been in the race of generosity and magnanimity, and not by trying to be foremost in that of selfish policy or unfeeling cruelty! The death of Toussaint-Louverture was one of those topics on which the tropes and figures of political rhetoric at one time delighted to dwell. As it took place in a castle in Franche-Compté and not in the streets of London, no one could say how it had happened; dark hints were thrown out, and it became a painful mystery, over which imagination drew its worst colours, and malice and prejudice left no doubt of the truth!

After so many stories of the kind have been proved to be equally groundless and improbable, one might suppose that this would have been discarded with the rest, as a lawyer flings up a shameless brief; but there are some minds that seem eaten up with the measles of servility, and whom neither the height of genius nor universal fame can raise above that low pitch of moral thinking that is to be found at the second tables of the Great.—Buonaparte had some qualms on the subject of making the blacks of St. Domingo free, and leaving those of Martinique and other islands in slavery, which inconsequentiality he proposes to remedy by a law declaring that "the blacks shall be slaves at Martinique and at the Isles of France and Bourbon; and they shall be free at St. Domingo, Guadaloupe, and Cayenne:" as if this geographical separation could stifle the pulse of liberty when it had once begun to beat, or the fitness of the blacks for slavery or freedom could be dependant on positive enactments. Napoleon labours hard at the point of amalgamating the blacks and the whites by the medium of polygamy, and states that he had held several conferences with theologians on the subject. But this expedient would degrade marriage instead of raising the blacks, as long as the whites continued masters at home. Would Buonaparte marry a French princess to a black chieftain? No: but till then,

his system would have no relation to the polygamy of the East.

The establishment of the Polytechnic and other schools on the most extensive and best-digested plans, carried instruction and improvement to every part of France. Buonaparte boasts of his munificence and exertions in this respect, and justly remarks that none but a bad government need fear the information of the people. He merely strove to keep the direction of this powerful engine of public opinion (by giving to the government the choice and payment of the teachers) as much as possible in his own hands:—if he had not, there were plenty of other hands into which it would soon have fallen. The *Institute* had been founded by the Convention; and contained nearly all the talent and science of France. Some surviving members of the old French Academy, who regarded themselves as the fine gentlemen of letters and affected to look upon the Institute as a society of mechanics and revolutionists, undertook to set up an opposition to the latter under the auspices of Lucien Buonaparte, who was partial to this sort of pedantry and tinsel, during the absence of his brother at Marengo; but soon after, the lofty pretensions of the Academicians were quashed, and they were admitted as the second class of the Institute. In France science was associated with the period of the Revolution, as poetry and

the *belles-lettres* were referred to the age of Louis XIV. In England, on the contrary, science is patronised in the fashionable circles as *proving nothing;* while elegant literature and the study of *humanity* are studiously banished from or barely tolerated in our polite lecture-rooms, whatever appeals to sentiment and imagination being thought dangerous. The Fine Arts were courted and encouraged under the Consulate. Admired pictures were purchased by the government; and distinguished or promising young artists had splendid apartments assigned them in the Louvre. A colossal bronze statue of Nicolas Poussin was cast in compliment to French art. Josephine had a real taste and relish for works of art, which her husband had not; but whenever she contrived to procure any precious *chef-d'œuvre* for her private collection, Buonaparte said he felt himself robbed of it, because it no longer belonged to the public and to France. To shew his sense of the value of men of genius, he declared at a later period that had Corneille lived in his time he would have made him a prince. He did not disdain to be the personal friend of Talma; nor did Talma ever repay this distinction with ingratitude or baseness. Equal attention and encouragement were given to the fine and the mechanic arts, to agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. In considering the relative value of the three last, Napoleon gave the

precedence to agriculture, which raises the means of subsistence; second, to manufactures or handicrafts, which produce the conveniences and ornaments of life; third, to commerce, which exchanges what is superfluous for what is deficient in these. With respect to foreign commerce, he decided with his usual keen and comprehensive glance in favour of the principles of free trade against monopolies. The correctness and soundness of his views are indeed acknowledged on all hands, with the sole exception of what related to his own personal power and ambition; but there, it should be remembered, others did not leave him a free choice. Bridges were constructed, roads were laid out, canals dug, which extended the inland navigation from the south to the north of France, from Marseilles to Amsterdam, harbours scooped out or secured, forests planted, new products in cultivation imported, the breed of different kinds of cattle improved. The roads over Mount Cenis and the Simplon were projected and begun, the noblest ever executed by the hand of man; and public monuments, buildings, and embellishments were scattered through the capital and the principal towns in France with a prodigal and benevolent hand. The finances were at the same time kept in the greatest order; public peculators and jobbers were discountenanced and punished; every general plan, almost every indi-

vidual detail was submitted to Buonaparte's immediate notice; and in his own household the strictest economy was combined with the utmost magnificence. He examined the accounts, kept an eye on the purveyors; and descending to the minutest details, was like some other princes who have nothing else to do, his own butler, steward, and upholsterer. On one occasion, thinking the charge for some silk-hangings with gold buttons extravagant, he took one of the buttons in his pocket and walked out into one of the streets in Paris to ask the price of it. The affairs of Europe, the army, the police, the administration of justice, prisons, the press, public works were all under his constant inspection and control. Often, after labouring all day in overlooking papers or comparing plans, dispatches came, and he sat up all night to read and answer them. His secretaries were worn out with the fatigue. He went through all this accumulation of labour himself with so little effort and so little need of any stimulus but the importunate activity of his own mind, that he used at this period of his life to take nothing but lemonade. The universal authority which he thus exerted, and of which no other person was capable, he wished to concentrate more and more within himself, and to make the portentous responsibility hereditary. The only fault of all that he did for France was, that though it received the

sanction of the general opinion, it emanated almost solely from himself, and there was no provision to check the abuse of discretionary power or to secure the continuance of its beneficial tendency. To be sure, there was no danger that the pride in creating should be joined with rapacity in appropriating; and a score of well-informed men, who were Buonaparte's confidential advisers in all cases and who had risen from the people, might be supposed in the immediate circumstances to represent the people, as a bucket of water taken from the ocean is the same everywhere. There were at this time no distinct classes with peculiar advantages and privileges, always prepared to vindicate their own rights, and to impede the public good. Buonaparte clearly identified the fortunes, well-being and glory of France with his own; and it was only by straining the point to the utmost (and by chance) that the bubble burst and relieved the world from paying the penalty of the full chastisement they had so richly merited.

What Buonaparte himself laid the most stress on, and regarded as the sheet-anchor of his fame, was his code of laws. This was a work of great labour, judgment, and utility. It reduced the chaos of the ancient contradictory and arbitrary laws of France into one just and simple plan. Mr. Landor, though a declared enemy of Buona-

parte, owns that he has left the best system of laws in Europe. The gainer of so many laurels surprised those about him more by his insight into jurisprudence than he had done by his knowledge of government or his atchievements in war. His coadjutors in preparing and framing the *Code Napoléon* were Tronchet, Rœderer, Portalis, Thibaudeau, and others. The First Consul presided at the greater number of the meetings of the Council of State where the subject was debated, and took a very active part in the discussions, which he himself provoked, sustained, directed, and re-animated. Unlike certain orators of his Council, he did not seek to shine by the roundness of his periods, the choice of his expressions, or the mode of his delivery. He spoke without preparation, without embarrassment or pretension, with the freedom and ease of conversation, growing warmer with the effects of opposition and the developement of various ideas on the subject. He was inferior to none of the Council; he was equal to the ablest of them in the readiness with which he seized on the point of the question, in the justness of his remarks, and the force of his reasonings. He surpassed them all in the happiness and originality of his expressions. Many persons pretended to believe (for mankind like to resolve the great into the little) that Loeré, the secretary, had given a certain colouring to the style, but it is shewn in the

admirable "Memoirs of the Consulate" by Thibaudeau, that he uniformly weakened and impaired it. The First Consul was as frank and candid as he was strong in debate. "It is important," he said, "that what men like the citizen* Tronchet say should be accurately reported, for it will carry an authority with it. As to us, men of the sword or finance, who are not jurists, it signifies little what we think. I have said things in the heat of discussion of which I have seen the error a quarter of an hour afterwards; but *I do not wish to pass for better than I am.*" Napoleon thus characterised some of his fellow-labourers in the Council. "Tronchet is a man possessed of a vast fund of information and an extremely sound judgment for his age. I find Rœderer feeble. Portalis would be the most imposing and eloquent speaker, if he knew when to have done. Thibaudeau is not adapted for this kind of discussion; like Lucien, he requires the tribune, where he can give himself full scope. Cambaceres is the advocate-general; he states both sides. The most difficult of all is the summing up, but in this Lebrun leaves every one behind."

* This term had not lost its value at the time. One of the most animated altercations in the Tribunate was in consequence of the substitution of the term *subjects* for that of *citizens*, in the treaty with Russia some time before.

We have a striking account of what passed in the interior of the Thuilleries and of Buonaparte's own mind on the two great points of his advancement to power and the renewal of the war in the same authentic and impartial work. The particulars are too important and characteristic to be omitted here. Josephine appears to have been kept in continual alarm by the projects in agitation respecting the establishment of hereditary succession and her own divorce as connected with it. As far back as the explosion of the Infernal Machine, she said to Rœderer, who was attacking Fouché, "Those are Buonaparte's worst enemies who wish to inspire him with ideas of hereditary succession and divorce." On the appointment of Buonaparte Consul for life with the power of naming his successor (10th August, 1802) the following conversation took place on the subject at Malmaison, whither the Counsellor of State N——— had gone on particular business.

The First Consul. "Well, what is there new at Paris?" *N.* "Nothing that you do not know." *B.* "What is it they say?" *N.* "They talk much of the decree of the Senate." *B.* "Aye: and what is the general opinion?" *N.* "Some are for, others against it." *B.* "And what is your own opinion?" *N.* "It is a question tried and judged." *B.* "And lost? Is it not so?" *N.* "It is not difficult for you to guess my meaning." *B.* "I

do not find fault with you for it, I know you are an honest man. But, my good friend, you will be cured of your reveries: we cannot go on as we have done. France will not be the less free, and she will be the first power." *N.* "Do you think then that a decree of the Senate and a vote of the people* are such sure guarantees, and that you could not have remained Consul without it?" *B.* "I am aware that it is a feeble security for the interior; but it has a good effect on foreign states. I am from this moment on a level with other sovereigns;† for by a just reckoning they are only what they are for life. *They and their ministers will respect me more.* It is not fit that the authority of a man who takes the lead in the affairs of Europe should be precarious, or should at least seem so.†" *N.* "The opinion of foreigners is of much less importance than that of France." *B.* "With the exception of a few madmen who only wish for disorder, and of some well-meaning enthusiasts who dream of the republic of Sparta, France is desirous of stability and strength in the government." *N.* "There is a greater number of

* The people had voted for the Consulship for life by a majority of three millions to a few hundred discontented voices. Carnot had protested against it; and La Fayette had only consented to it, on condition that the First Consul would allow the liberty of the press.

† This seems a fair practical answer to the doubt of stability in Lord Grenville's Note.

persons than you think, who dream not of the republic of Sparta, but of the French Republic. The impression of the Revolution is still quite fresh, and the transition to another order of things and ideas somewhat sudden." *B.* "The men of the Revolution have nothing to fear; I am their best guarantee." *N.* "What will become of the men, when the thing shall have ceased to exist?" Then passing to the subject of the designation of his successor, he approved, or pretended to approve of N.'s opposition to the measure, who observed that four or five of them had looked upon it in the light of an alienation of the sovereignty of the people. *B.* (interrupting him warmly) "It was Rœderer who officiously brought forward this question. When I was told what had passed, I said, 'Who is it you would have me choose? One of my brothers?' The nation has indeed consented to be governed by me, because I had acquired a high degree of glory and rendered it signal services; but it will say that it has not for that reason sold itself to my family. As to my successor, I know no one who has the necessary qualifications, and whom the nation would approve. Is it Joseph or Lucien who was supposed to have urged this measure?" *N.* "Lucien, and that excited some apprehension; in short, the expectation of I know not what changes spreads inquietude and alarm everywhere." *B.* "What would you have? I

hear a talk of guarantees for the nation, of great bodies composed of the great proprietors for life, or even hereditary." *N.* "This is the fourth Constitution in twelve years; if we change this, where shall we stop?" *B.* "It is better to environ the one we have with proper consideration. And as to these grand corps that they talk of, what would they turn out when we had chosen them? Something quite different from what was proposed. They are the men of 91, who wish to come in under this imposing designation, Rœderer, Mounier, La Fayette, Latour-Maubourg, and all the rest. Judge now, what we could expect from these men, who are always mounted on their metaphysics of 89. The two last have written to me to say that they would give their assent to the Consulship for life, on the condition that I would re-establish the liberty of the press. The liberty of the press indeed! I should no sooner have established it, than I should have thirty royalist journals and a proportionable number of Jacobin ones start up against me. I should have to govern once more with a minority, a faction, and to recommence the Revolution, while all my efforts have been directed to govern with the nation. And then again, the opinion of these *Messieurs*, these grand proprietaries, would be against the Revolution; they have all of them suffered more or less by it and hold it and all that belongs to it

in horror. See, I have at this moment in my hands a memorial from six sugar-refiners. Well! *a-propos* of sugar; it is nothing but a continued diatribe against the Revolution, by which they think to pay their court to me. Suppose, then, I have to propose to these grand corps thus constituted, a conscription, contributions; they will resist, they will allege the interests of the people. Let me stand in need of strong measures in difficult circumstances; they will be alarmed, they will abandon me through pusillanimity. If I provoke an opposition on revolutionary principles, the nation will not trouble itself about it. Let these grand corps organise a counter-revolutionary opposition, and they will carry a good part of the nation with them. It is indispensable that the Government should remain in the hands of the men of the Revolution; that is their only chance. In a word, these gentlemen would cry out against the arbitrary conduct of Government, and not leave me a single minister. As it is, I do not mind them. Not that a government is to be unjust, but it cannot avoid some arbitrary acts. I have two hundred Chouans detained in prison; were I to have them brought to trial, they would be acquitted." *N.* "You may believe that I enter into all you have said on this last question. I do not justify all the men of the Revolution; I speak of them in a mass; and it is only they who can defend their own work and the change which

it has produced in the ideas of France and Europe. It is none but they who are your true friends; for you are theirs, and their surest safeguard. As to the privileged classes, they are irreconcileable. They will accept of places, they ask nothing better; they will dissemble, bend, and crouch, it is their trade; but let a catastrophe approach, they will come out in their natural colours, and will sacrifice you to their ancient idols. They will never really regard you as one of themselves." *B.* "I know it well; these persons and the foreign cabinets hate me worse than Robespierre." *N.* "With respect to national guarantees, I can understand but one—a good representative system, by which the public wants and public opinion may be fully manifested, so as to direct, without weakening, the action of the Government. With this, the rest would come in time." *B.* "Siéyes spoilt all with his ridiculous constitutions; I let him have his way too much. You will let me hear your further ideas." *N.* "If I am allowed to be frank." *B.* "That is understood without a word said."

Really in these circumstances, with this inertness in the people, with this proneness to defection in the chiefs, surrounded by flatterers, forced on by the Allies, with his good sword and his ambition to carve out his way for him, though I might wish that another course had been pursued, yet I do not

see how it could be hoped; and I and others who have not bowed the knee to idols nor eaten of the unclean thing, have this at least to thank him for—that for fifteen years, if he did not restore the vital spirit of liberty, he turned its tomb into a citadel to keep its old and deadly foes from insulting over its corse, and by being a scourge and a terror to tyrants, could not but save the principle of the Revolution, while he saved himself.

While these discussions were pending, Josephine fluttered about, trembling with apprehension, listening to every breath, and uttering her dissatisfaction and doubts to all whom she could interest in her behalf. She seemed to shrink instinctively from this new and pathless career, of which she only saw the danger, held Buonaparte back from it as from the edge of a precipice, and might be thought to have foreseen the time when she and her daughter would each have to lean on the arm of the Emperor Alexander, while her *Cid* (hers once more in misfortune) was led away by barbarous and ruthless foes. She ran to meet N——— as soon as he retired from his audience with Buonaparte, took him to walk with her in the park, and looking anxiously round, began to complain bitterly of Lucien, Talleyrand, and others. Shortly after, she renewed the conversation. "Be sure," she said, "they have not given up their project of hereditary succession, and that it will take

place sooner or later. They are desirous that the First Consul should have offspring, by no matter whom, and that I should afterwards adopt it; for they are sensible how much Buonaparte would do himself wrong, were he to put away a wife who was attached to him at a time when he was without power, and to whose daughter he has married his brother. But never, I have told them, would I lend myself to such infamy. Besides, it is a mistake to imagine the people would allow a spurious offspring to succeed. I cannot help thinking that in that case Lucien would try to enforce his pretensions. They will begin by doing all they can to alienate Buonaparte from me. They have hinted at a handsome allowance, if he were to divorce me; but I replied, that if that were to happen, I would take nothing from him. I would dispose of my diamonds and purchase a country-house, where I could live happily enough, would they only let me do so. It is only within these few days that poor Hortense has felt some slight illness, though she is in her ninth month; I trembled at the thought, in consequence of the infamous reports which have been spread abroad. When I said so to Buonaparte, he replied, 'These rumours have been credited by the public only because the nation wished me to have a child.' I told him he deceived himself greatly, if he supposed these stories had

any such motive, and that it was his enemies who circulated such calumnies. But this answer of Buonaparte's will let you see what are his intentions, and the blindness in which he is plunged by his schemes of grandeur. He is more feeble and more easily led than people believe; for it is not possible to account in any other way for the influence which Lucien exercises over him. He is acquainted with all that Lucien has said and written about him, and yet he suffers himself to be guided by him. To see him at home in his family one would say he was a good man, and in fact he is so. Fortunately he has a strong sense of justice, since without that they would make him do much worse things. He one day asked me: 'What are my faults?' I replied, 'I know of two, want of firmness, and indiscretion; you suffer yourself to be governed by those who seek only your ruin, and are so fond of disputing that you divulge your secrets.' He folded me in his arms, and owned that it was true. When I point out to him the dangers of ambition, he answers, 'It is also on thy account and that of thy family, for if I was to die, thou wouldst be sacrificed!' But what a pity that a young man who possesses so many claims to glory and to the homage of his age and of posterity, should be spoiled by flatterers!"—Josephine was inclined, from her affection for her

husband, to throw the blame on others; but no one is ruined but by his own connivance or from inevitable circumstances.*

On the question of the duration of peace or probable renewal of hostilities, the following particulars are well worth giving, as throwing a new and intimate light on the views and dispositions of the First Consul.

"In England, the peace of Amiens, though popular, was in the opinion of politicians of all parties little better than a compulsory step, and

* Thibaudeau observes here, that "the ideas of the unity and stability of government were so much in vogue, that if they had dared, or if the First Consul had wished it, they would have heaped all power on his single head. The intriguers would have exploded every trace of democracy. They wished to concentrate all authority from that of the Consul for life, down to the mayor of the most obscure village, and to wean the attention of the citizens, by degrees, from public affairs, in order that in the end they might be altogether estranged from them. It was the fashion to cite the ancient *intendances* of provinces as models of administration, and the old parliaments as patterns for courts of justice. There was not a single institution, decried for its intolerable abuses and proscribed by the voice of the nation, that did not then find apologists and defenders." How ridiculous and odious all this seems, *without* the plea of antiquity and the sanction of prejudice and tradition on its side! Our *wiseacres*, the declaimers against the exercise, but dupes of the principles of arbitrary power, thought it best, instead of letting any such patched-up system fall in pieces from sheer antipathy to itself, or when no longer supported by the hand that raised it without any warrant but his momentary will, to have it *grooved* in the rock of ages, and vested as a sacred right in a privileged race!

consequently a mere truce, which could not last long. This conclusion resulted from all the discussions which took place in parliament, and from the countenance which the English Ministry afforded to the clandestine intrigues kept up in London against the Consular Government. Had the First Consul himself entertained a different opinion of the peace of Amiens, he would not have been deserving of the high place which he held, nor of his great renown. He had made peace, not from necessity, but because the French people loudly called for it; because it was glorious to France, and because, on the part of her most inveterate enemy, it was a recognition of the form of government which she had chosen to adopt. In a conversation with one of his Counsellors of State, Buonaparte expressed his opinion as follows:

The First Consul. "Well, Citizen ——, what think you of my peace with England?"

Counsellor of State. "I think, Citizen Consul, that it does much honour to your government, and gives great satisfaction to the French."

First Consul. "Do you think it will last long?"

Counsellor. "I should be very desirous for it to last four or five years, at least, to give us time to recruit our navy; but I doubt much whether it will extend to this period."

First Consul. "I do not believe it neither. Eng-

land fears us; the Continental Powers are hostile to us; how then, if so, hope for a solid peace? Moreover, do you imagine that a peace of five years or more would suit the form or the circumstances of our government?"

Counsellor. "I think that this repose would be very desirable for France, after ten years of war."

First Consul. "You do not comprehend me; I do not make it a question whether a sincere and solid peace is an advantage to a well-settled state; but I ask whether ours is sufficiently so, not to stand in need of further victories?"

Counsellor. "I have not reflected sufficiently on so important a question, to give a categorical answer; all that I can say, or rather what I feel, is that a state that can only maintain itself by war is most unfortunately circumstanced."

First Consul. "The greatest misfortune of all would be not to judge rightly of our position, for when we know what it is we may provide against it. Answer me, then, whether you do not apprehend the persevering hostility of these Governments, which have nevertheless signed peace with us?"

Counsellor. "I should find it a hard matter not to distrust them."

First Consul. "Well then, draw the consequence. If these Governments always have war *in petto*, if they are determined to renew it one day, it is best that this should be sooner rather

than later; since every day weakens the impression of their late defeats on their minds, and tends to diminish in us the confidence inspired by our late victories; thus all the advantage of delay is on their side."

Counsellor. "But, Citizen Consul, do you reckon as nothing the opportunity you will derive from the peace for the internal organisation of the country?"

First Consul. "I was coming to that. Assuredly, this important consideration did not escape my attention; and I have given proofs, even in the midst of war, of my not neglecting what concerned the institutions and the prosperity of the interior. I shall not stop there, there is still much more to do; but is not military success even more necessary to dazzle and keep this interior in order? Be well assured that a First Consul has no resemblance to those kings by the grace of God, who regard their dominions as an inheritance. Their power has old habits to strengthen it; with us, on the contrary, all these old habits are stumbling-blocks. The French Government, at the present moment, is like nothing that surrounds it. Hated by its neighbours, obliged to keep down various descriptions of malcontents in its own bosom, it has need, in order to overawe so many enemies, of brilliant atchievements, and consequently of war."

Counsellor. "I own, Citizen Consul, that you

have much more to do to establish your government, than the kings our neighbours have to maintain theirs; but on the one hand, Europe is convinced that you know how to conquer, and to recollect this truth, it is not necessary that you should furnish new proofs of it every year; on the other hand, the occupations of peace are not without their lustre too, and you will know how to rivet admiration by noble undertakings."

First Consul. "Former victories, seen at a distance, do not strike much; and the labours of art only make a strong impression on those who witness them, which is the smallest number. My intention is to multiply and encourage these labours, posterity perhaps will make more account of them than of my victories; but for the present, there is nothing that carries such a sound with it as military successes. This is my conviction; it is the misfortune of our situation. A new government, such as ours, requires, I repeat it, to dazzle and astonish in order to maintain itself."

Counsellor. "Your government, Citizen Consul, is not quite, as it appears to me, a nurseling. It has put on the manly robe since Marengo: directed by a powerful head and sustained by the arms of thirty millions of inhabitants, it holds a distinguished place among European governments."

First Consul. "Do you conceive then, my good

friend, that this is enough? No, it is necessary that *it should be the first of all or be overpowered.*"

Counsellor. "And to obtain this result, you see no other means than war?"

First Consul. "Yes, Citizen ———, I will maintain peace if our neighbours are disposed to keep it; but should they oblige me to take up arms again before we are enervated by ease and a long inaction, I shall consider it as an advantage."

Counsellor. "Citizen Consul, what period do you then assign to this state of anxiety, which in the bosom even of peace should make us regret war?"

First Consul. "My friend, I am not sufficiently enlightened as to the future to reply to your question; but I feel that in order to hope for more solidity and good faith in treaties of peace, it is requisite either that the form of the surrounding governments should approximate nearer to ours, or that our political institutions should be a little more in harmony with theirs. There is always a spirit of animosity between old monarchies and a new republic. This is the root of our European discords."

Counsellor. "But cannot this hostile spirit be repressed by the smart of recent recollections, or be arrested in its progress by the imposing attitude which you might assume?"

First Consul. "Palliatives are not cures: in our circumstances, I consider every peace as a short-lived truce, and the ten years of my Consulship as doomed to war almost without intermission. My successors will do as they can. [This was previous to his being chosen Consul for life.] As to the rest, be on your guard against believing that I wish to break off the peace: no, I shall not act the part of the aggressor. I have too strong an interest in leaving it to foreign powers to strike the first blow. I know them well: they will be the first to take up arms, or to furnish me with just grounds to do so. I shall hold myself in readiness for all events."

Counsellor. "Thus then, Citizen Consul, it appears that what I feared a few months ago is precisely what you wish."

First Consul. "I wait to see; and my principle is that war is to be preferred to an ephemeral peace: we shall see how this will turn out. At present it is of the utmost importance to us. It affixes its seal to the acknowledgment of my government by that power which has held out the longest against it. This is the chief point gained. The rest, that is, the future, must depend on circumstances."

According to this account, as it relates to the grounds of Buonaparte's foreign policy, the supposed hatred of kings to the principles of popular

government has cost France and Europe dear. Whether that policy was sound and justifiable or not, depends on this other question whether that hatred was real or supposed; and this question does not, I think, admit of a doubt. To contend with any chance of success against the armed prejudice, pride, and power of Europe, something more than mere good-nature, moderation, and a belief in external professions was necessary: whatever might be the danger or the inconveniences on the opposite side, instead of fastidious scruples or Quaker morality, it required the very genius of heroic daring and lofty ambition "clad all in proof," or a champion like Talus, the Iron Man in Spenser, to make head against it. Every one will allow that Buonaparte came up to these conditions: I am not very anxious to deny that he perhaps exceeded them.—What I like least in the foregoing conversation is the hint thrown out of an approximation to the form of the old governments. "Farthest from them was best." It was too much to conquer and to imitate them too. But the one left an opening to the First Consul's schemes of personal aggrandisement as the other did of martial glory. The splendour with which he proposed to dazzle the enemies of the Republic, seemed already to contract his brows into a frown. Even this, though an unlooked-for and the least favourable issue to the question, was not without

its moral use. A people were denied the right to be free and a mark set upon them as unworthy of the rank of men, and one man stepped forth from among them who wiped out the stain with his sword, and set his foot upon the necks of kings, and humbled their pride and pretensions with the dust by placing himself on an equality with them: a whole people were taunted with their incapacity to maintain the relations of peace and amity for want of a head, and they chose one man among them to lead them forth to universal conquest. This was at least one way of asserting the cause of the people, and of answering the claim of natural and indefeasible superiority over them. If not the triumph of the best principles, neither was it the complete and final triumph of the worst. In a battle, all those on the same side claim the honour of the victory, though the general has the greatest share: so free-men can hardly complain if to triumph over their unrelenting task-masters they have to surrender the chief power into the hands of the ablest among them. As to France, it is at all events better to be stopped by a robber than sold for a slave; and as to the Continent, the war was never a national quarrel, but a struggle between the different classes and races of men, whether one should be considered as an inferior order of beings to the other. If it were a question between the blacks and whites, the colour would at once

decide the point; to the mind's eye the complexion of the dispute, the real gist of the argument is no less clear between the natural rights and the hereditary and lasting bondage of the people. Passion and power never lost sight of this distinction: reason was more easily staggered and thrown off its guard. There are some who think the slightest flaw, a single error fatal to their own side of the question as opposed to the pretended right to inflict every wrong with impunity: in my opinion this claim alone cancels a million of faults committed against it. Any thing short of the re-admission of such a principle is virtually "deliverance to mankind." If however a nobler and wiser (because more consistent and disinterested) course lay open to Buonaparte, he did not want a Mentor in one who had every title to be so, both from his own obligations to him and from his well-known attachment to the cause of liberty. At the time of his being chosen Consul for life, Fayette addressed the following letter to him.

"La Grange, 1st of Prairial, year X (1802).

"GENERAL,

"When a man, penetrated with the gratitude that he owes you, and too sensible of glory not to sympathise with yours, has added restrictions to his suffrage, they are the less to be suspected, as no one will rejoice more than he to see you first

magistrate for life of a free Republic. The 18th of Brumaire has saved France, and I found myself recalled by the liberal professions to which you had pledged your honour. We have seen since in the consular power that repairing system which under the auspices of your genius, has done such great things; less grand however than the restoration of liberty will be. It is impossible that you, General, the first of that order of beings, who to appreciate themselves and to take their proper rank must embrace all ages, should wish that such a revolution, that so many victories with so much blood, so many misfortunes and prodigies should have for the world and for yourself no other result than an arbitrary government. The French nation has too well known its rights to have forgotten them entirely; but perhaps it is more in a state at present, than in its first effervescence, to recover them effectually; and you by the force of your character and the public confidence, by the superiority of your talents, of your situation, of your fortune, may, in re-establishing liberty, master all dangers, and allay all inquietudes. I should then have only patriotic and personal motives for wishing you in this view to succeed in establishing a permanent magistracy as an addition to your glory. But I owe it to the principles, the engagements, and to the actions of my whole life, to be assured, before I give it my vote,

that it is founded on bases worthy of the nation and of yourself.

"I trust you will be satisfied, General, on this as on former occasions, that to an adherence to my political opinions are joined sincere good wishes for your welfare, and a profound sense of my obligations to you.

"Health and respect.

"LA FAYETTE."

Every day the irritation and dissatisfaction of the two governments that had just concluded peace became greater, the one trying to maintain its temper and a friendly appearance, the other to provoke an open rupture by every species of secret calumny or vulgar taunt. The English journals were filled with gross and studied insults to the person of the First Consul, and he complained that "it was in vain for him to reckon upon peace, while every gale that blew breathed hatred and contempt from England." In spite of all this, people still trusted to the continuance of peace, and the English flocked over in crowds to Paris. They had been debarred of this privilege for nearly ten years, and they were devoured with eager curiosity to see the effects of the Revolution as well as the extraordinary man whom victory had placed at the head of affairs. They expected to find the country exhausted, agriculture annihilated, and

the people miserable. They were astonished and not a little scandalised at the national prosperity, the splendour of the capital, and the magnificence of the court. Paris was intoxicated with the presence of so many strangers. Every attention was paid them, every preference was given them. French vanity and politeness seemed to delight in soothing and flattering English pride and jealousy. The only question was, who should give them the most welcome reception: all Paris was on tiptoe to make a few thousand English eat, drink, dance, and look pleased. The women were prodigal of their fascinations; and the hospitality and courtesy, which were carried to a ridiculous excess, were repaid with characteristic sullenness and scorn—the English thinking there must be a design in so much ostentatious complaisance, and carrying back their personal obligations as an uneasy *make-weight* to throw into the scale of a new war! The summer of that year was, however, bright and serene; most of our countrymen who could afford it passed it under cloudless skies, and the hope of peace was a satisfaction to all. The thoughtless and the well-disposed believed firmly in its continuance because they wished it, as well as for the following reasons. 1. War is an unnatural state and cannot last forever, so that the imagination always looks forward to and can only repose in the enjoyment of peace. 2. If

war were a benefit and not a curse (as has been pretended before now) we should go to war with our friends, and not with our enemies. Therefore men's wishes point at peace if their passions do not disturb it. 3. The French had gained the object which was at stake—the acknowledgment of the Republic; and numbers of the English were more ashamed of the cause in which we had been engaged than mortified at its want of success. The real grounds of the war were not the pretended ones, and could not be suspected except by those who were in the secret. And lastly, it was believed that Buonaparte, who was the soul of the war, and who had put an end to it by the fame of his exploits, was both solicitous and qualified to reap an equal glory by the arts of peace.

END OF VOL. II.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

THE SUPPER OF BEAUCAIRE.

I was at Beaucaire, on the last day of the fair, and happened to have for company at supper two merchants of Marseilles, an inhabitant of Nîmes, and a manufacturer of Montpellier. In the space of a few minutes, which were passed in becoming acquainted, they learned that I came from Avignon, and that I was an officer. The attention of my company, which had all the week before been fixed on the course of trade, which increases wealth, was at that moment turned to the issue of the present contest, upon which depends its preservation. They wished to know my opinion, in order that, by comparing it with their own, they might be the better enabled to form probable conjectures respecting the future, which affected us in different ways. The Marseillais, in particular, appeared to be less petulant; the evacuation of Avignon had taught them to doubt of every thing, and they manifested great solicitude about their future fate. Confidence soon made us communicative, and we began a conversation nearly in the following terms:—

THE NIMOIS.

"Is Cartaux's army strong? It is said to have sustained a heavy loss in the attack; but if it be true that it has been repulsed, why have the Marseillais evacuated Avignon?"

THE OFFICER.

"The army was four thousand strong when it attacked Avignon, and is now six thousand, and in four days more it will be ten thousand: it lost five killed and four wounded; it was not repulsed, since it made no regular attack; it hovered about the place, it strove to force the gates by attaching petards to them; it fired a few cannon-shot to try the temper of the garrison; it afterwards retired into its camp to combine its attack for the following night. The Marseillais were three thousand six hundred strong; they had a heavier and more numerous artillery, and yet they were obliged to retreat across the Durance. You are much astonished at this; but the fact is, that none but veteran troops can contend with the vicissitudes of a siege; we were masters of the Rhone, of Villeneuve, and of the country; we should have interrupted all their communications. They were obliged to evacuate the town; the cavalry pursued them in their retreat; they lost a great many prisoners, and two pieces of cannon."

THE MARSEILLAIS.

"We have received a different account: I will not dispute yours, since you were present, but you must own that all that will lead to nothing; our army is at Aix; three good generals are come in place of the former ones; they are raising fresh battalions at Marseilles; we have a fresh train of artillery, including several twenty-four-pounders; in a few days we shall be in a posture to retake Avignon, or at least we shall remain masters of the Durance."

THE OFFICER.

"All this has been told you in order to lead you to the brink of the abyss, which is deepening every moment, and which will perhaps ingulph the finest city in France, that

which has deserved the most of the patriots. But you were also told that you should traverse France, that you should sway the Republic, and yet your very first steps have been checked; you were told that Avignon could resist for a long time a force of 20,000 men, and yet a single column of the army, without a battering-train, got possession of it in twenty-four hours; you were told that the South had risen, and yet you found yourselves alone; you were told that the cavalry of Nimes was about to crush the Allobroges, and yet the latter were at Saint-Esprit and at Villeneuve; you were told that 4000 Lyonnais were marching to your aid, and yet the Lyonnais were negociating an accommodation for themselves. Acknowledge, then, that you are deceived, see the incompetence of your directors, and distrust their calculations; self-love is the most dangerous of counsellors; you are naturally impetuous, they are leading you to your destruction by the same means which has ruined so many nations, by inflaming your vanity. You have considerable wealth and population, and their amount is exaggerated to you; you have rendered signal services to liberty, and you are reminded of them, without at the same time pointing out to you that the genius of the Republic was with you then, whereas it has now abandoned you. Your army, say you, is at Aix, with a large train of artillery and good generals; well, do what it may, I assure you that it will be beaten. You had 3600 men, of which a full half is dispersed; Marseilles, and a few refugees from the department, may furnish you 4000 men at the most; you will then have 5000 or 6000 men, without unity, without order, without discipline. You say you have good generals; as I do not know them, I cannot dispute their ability, but they will be entirely occupied in the details; their exertions will not be seconded by the subalterns, they cannot do any thing to maintain the re-

putation which they may have acquired; for it would take two months to organize their army tolerably, and in four days Cartaux will have passed the Durance, and with what soldiers? With the excellent light troops of the Allobroges, the old regiment of Burgundy, a good regiment of cavalry, the brave battalion of the Côte-d'Or, which has been victorious in a hundred combats, and six or seven other veteran corps, encouraged by their successes on the frontiers and against your army. You have eighteen and twenty-four-pounders, and you think yourselves impregnable; therein you follow the vulgar notion, but professional men will tell you, and fatal experience will shortly demonstrate to you, that good four and eight-pounders are as effective in the field, and are preferable on many accounts to pieces of heavy calibre. You have cannoneers newly raised, and your adversaries have gunners from the regiments of the line, the best masters of their art in Europe. What will your army do if it concentrates itself at Aix? It is lost; it is an axiom in the military art, that the army which remains in its intrenchments is beaten; theory and experience entirely agree on this point; and the walls of Aix are not equal to the worst field-intrenchment, especially if we consider their extent, and the houses which surround them exteriorly, within pistol-shot. Be assured then, that this course, which seems to you the best, is the worst; besides, how can you supply the town in so short a time with every kind of provision which it wants? Will your army go and meet the enemy? It is less numerous, its artillery is less adapted to the field, it would be broken and defeated without resource, for the cavalry would prevent it from rallying. Expect, then, to have the war carried into the territory of Marseilles; there a very numerous party is for the Republic, and that will be the moment for it to declare itself; the junction will be made,

and that city, the centre of the commerce of the Levant, the emporium of the south of Europe, is ruined. Remember the recent example of Lisle,* and the barbarous laws of war. What infatuation has all at once possessed your people? what fatal blindness is leading them to their destruction? How can they think of resisting the entire Republic? Supposing they could oblige its army to fall back upon Avignon, can they doubt that in a few days fresh combatants would come to supply the places of the former? Will the Republic, which gives the law to Europe, receive it from Marseilles?

"United with Bourdeaux, Lyons, Montpellier, Nîmes, Grenoble, the Jura, the Eure, the Calvados, you undertook a revolution, and you had some probability of success; your instigators might be ill-intentioned, but you had an imposing mass of strength. But now that Lyons, Nîmes, Montpellier, Bourdeaux, the Jura, the Eure, Grenoble, Caen have received the Constitution; now that Avignon, Tarascon, Arles have submitted, confess that there is madness in your obstinacy. It is because you are influenced by persons who, having nothing more to lose, would involve you in their ruin.

"Your army will be composed of all the wealthiest portion of your city, for the *sans-culottes* might very easily turn against you. You are going, then, to risk the flower of your young men, accustomed to hold the commercial balance of the Mediterranean, and to enrich you by their economy and their speculations, against veteran soldiers who have so often bathed their hands in the blood of the furious aristocrat, the ferocious Prussian.

"Let poor countries fight to the last extremity; the in-

* Lisle, a small town of the department of Vaucluse, four leagues east of Avignon, having resisted the army of Cartaux, was taken by assault on the 26th of July, 1793.

habitant of the Vivarais, of the Cévènnes, or of Corsica exposes himself without fear to the issue of a combat; if he is victorious, he gains his object—if he is beaten, he finds himself as before, at liberty to make peace, and in the same position. But you—lose a battle, and the fruits of a thousand years of industry, economy, and prosperity become the prey of the soldier. Such, however, are the risks which you are induced so inconsiderately to run."

THE MARSEILLAIS.

"You get on fast, and you alarm me. I agree with you that the circumstances are critical; perhaps it is true that the position in which we at present stand is not sufficiently considered; but you must acknowledge that we still have immense resources to oppose to you.

"You have persuaded me that we cannot resist at Aix; your observation respecting the want of provisions for a siege of long duration is perhaps unanswerable; but do you think that all Provence can long witness calmly the investment of Aix? It will rise spontaneously; and your army, hemmed in on every side, will be fortunate if it can repass the Durance."

THE OFFICER.

"How little knowledge this displays of the spirit of men and that of the time! Every where there are two parties; the moment you are besieged, the Sectionary party will be put down in all the country places. The example of Tarascon, of Orgon, of Arles should convince you of this; where twenty dragoons have sufficed to re-establish the old authorities, and put the others to the rout.

"Henceforward any great movement in your favour is impossible in your department; it might have taken place when the army was beyond the Durance, and you were un-

broken. At Toulon men's minds are much divided; and the Sectionaries have not the same superiority there as at Marseilles, so that they must remain in the town to repress their adversaries. As for the department of the Lower Alps, you know that nearly the whole of it has accepted the Constitution."

THE MARSEILLAIS.

"We will attack Cartaux in our mountains, where his cavalry will be of no use to him."

THE OFFICER.

"As if an army protecting a town could choose the point of attack. Besides, it is not true that there are any mountains near Marseilles sufficiently impracticable to render cavalry ineffective; your olive-grounds indeed, are sufficiently steep to render the management of artillery more difficult, and thereby give your enemies a great advantage; for it is on broken ground that, by the celerity of his movements, the exactness in serving his guns, and the accuracy of his elevations, the expert cannoneer has the greatest superiority."

THE MARSEILLAIS.

"You think, then, that we are without resources. Can it possibly be the fate of that city which resisted the Romans, and preserved a part of its laws under the despots who succeeded them, to become the prey of a few brigands? What! shall the Allobroges, laden with the spoils of Lisle, give law to Marseille? What! shall Dubois de Crancé and Albitte reign uncontrolled? shall those blood-thirsty men, in whose hands the calamities of the time have placed the guidance of affairs, be absolute masters? What a melancholy prospect you present to me; our property, under different pretexts, would be invaded; we should continually be made the victims of a soldiery whom plunder unites under the same banners;

our best citizens would be imprisoned and would perish by violence. The Club would again lift its monstrous head to execute its infernal projects! Nothing can be worse than this horrible idea; it is better to leave ourselves a chance of victory, than to become victims without any alternative."

THE OFFICER.

"Such is civil war, men go on in mutual defamation, abhorrence, and slaughter, without knowing one another. The Allobroges—what do you think they are? Africans? inhabitants of Siberia? Not at all; they are your fellow-countrymen, Provençaux, Dauphinois, Savoyards. You think them barbarous because their name is strange. If your phalanx were called the Phocæan phalanx, people would give credit to every species of fable respecting it.

"It is true that you have reminded me of one fact, the case of Lisle. I do not justify it, but I will explain it. The people of Lisle killed the trumpeter who was sent to them; they resisted without hope of success; their town was taken by assault; the soldiers entered it amidst fire and slaughter, it was not possible to restrain them; and indignation did the rest.

"Those soldiers whom you call brigands are our best troops and most disciplined battalions; their reputation is above calumny.

"Dubois-Crancé and Albitte, constant friends of the people, have never deviated from the straight line; they are villains in the eyes of the bad. But Condorcet, Brissot, Barbaroux, were also villains while they were consistent; it will always be the lot of the good to be spoken ill of by the bad. You think they shew you no mercy, and yet they are treating you like wayward children. Do you think that if they had chosen to detain it, the Marseillais could have withdrawn the merchandise which they had at Beaucaire; they

could have sequestrated it until the issue of the war; they did not wish to do so; and you owe it to them that you can return quietly to your homes.

"You call Cartaux an assassin; but know, that that General takes the greatest care to preserve order and discipline, witness his conduct at Saint-Esprit and at Avignon, where not a pin's worth was taken. He imprisoned a serjeant who ventured to seize the person of a Marseillais of your army who had remained in one of the houses, because he had violated the asylum of a citizen without an express order. Some people of Avignon were punished for pointing out a house as aristocratical. One soldier is under prosecution on a charge of theft. Your army, on the contrary, has killed, assassinated more than thirty persons, has violated the retreats of families, and filled the prisons with citizens on the vague pretext that they were robbers.

"Do not be afraid of the army; it esteems Marseilles, because it knows that no town has made so many sacrifices to the common-weal; you have eighteen thousand men on the frontier; you have not spared yourselves on any occasion. Throw off the yoke of the few aristocrats who govern you, return to sounder principles, and you will have no truer friend than the soldier."

THE MARSEILLAIS.

"Ah! you soldiers have greatly degenerated from the army of 1789; that army would not take up arms against the nation; yours should imitate so noble an example, and not turn their arms against their fellow-citizens."

THE OFFICER.

"Had those principles been followed, La Vendée would ere now have planted the white flag on the walls of the re-erected Bastille, and the camp of Jalès would have been ruling at Marseilles."

THE MARSEILLAIS.

"La Vendée desires a king, a counter-revolution; the war of La Vendée, of the camp of Jalès is that of fanaticism; ours, on the contrary, is that of true republicanism, friends of the laws and of order, enemies of anarchy and of bad men. Have we not the tri-coloured flag? And what interest should we have in wishing to be slaves?"

THE OFFICER.

"I am well aware that the people at Marseilles differ widely from those of La Vendée with respect to a counter-revolution. The appetite of the people of La Vendée is strong and healthy; that of the people of Marseilles weak and sickly; the pill must be sugared in order to make them swallow it; to establish the new doctrine among them they must be deceived, but in the course of four years of revolution, in such a number of stratagems, plots, and conspiracies, all the perversity of human nature has been developed under different aspects, and men have perfected their natural subtlety; so true is this, that in spite of the departmental coalition, in spite of the ability of the leaders, and the numerous resources of all the enemies of the Revolution, the people everywhere awoke at the moment they were thought to be spell-bound.

"You say you have the tri-coloured flag; Paoli also hoisted it in Corsica to have time to deceive the people, to crush the true friends of liberty, to lead his fellow-countrymen to concur in his ambitious and criminal projects; he hoisted the tri-coloured flag, and yet he fired upon the vessels of the Republic, and he drove our troops from the fortresses, and he disarmed those which remained there, and he assembled forces to expel those which were in the island, and he plundered the magazines, selling at a low price

all their contents to get money to carry on his revolt, and he ravaged and confiscated the property of the wealthiest families because they were attached to the unity of the Republic, and he got himself appointed generalissimo, and he declared all those who should remain in our army enemies to their country; he had previously caused the failure of the Sardinian expedition, and yet he had the shamelessness to call himself the friend of France and a good Republican, and yet he deceived the Convention, which passed its decree of deprivation; in short he acted in such a manner, that when at length he was unmasked by his own letters found at Calvi, it was too late, the enemy's fleets already intercepted all our communications.

"We must no longer rely upon words; we must examine actions; and you must acknowledge that in estimating yours, it is easy to shew that you are counter-revolutionists. What effect has the movement which you have made produced on the Republic? You have brought it to the brink of ruin; you have retarded the operations of our armies. I know not whether you are paid by the Spaniard and the Austrian; but certainly they could not desire more powerful diversions. What more could you do if you were so paid? Your success has been an object of solicitude to all the known aristocrats; you have placed declared aristocrats at the head of your sections and of your armies, as one Latourette, formerly a colonel, one Soumise, formerly a lieutenant-colonel of engineers, who abandoned their corps at the breaking out of the war that they might not fight for the liberty of nations; your battalions are full of such men, and your cause would not be theirs if it were that of the Republic."

THE MARSEILLAIS.

"But Brissot, Barbaroux, Condorcet, Buzot, Vergniaux, are they too aristocrats? Who founded the Republic?

who overthrew the tyrant? who supported their country at the perilous period of the last campaign?"

THE OFFICER.

"I will not examine whether those men who had deserved well of the nation on many occasions did really conspire against it; it is sufficient for me to know that the Mountain, through public or through party spirit, having proceeded to the last extremities against them, having denounced, imprisoned, and, if you will have it so, calumniated them, the Brissotins were lost, unless a civil war should enable them to give the law to their enemies. It was then to them that your war was really useful; had they merited their former reputation, they would have laid down their arms on beholding the Constitution, they would have sacrificed their interests to the public good; but it is easier to cite the example of Decius than to imitate him; they have now become guilty of the greatest of all crimes—they have by their conduct justified their denouncement; the blood which they have caused to flow has effaced the real services they had rendered."

THE MANUFACTURER OF MONTPELLIER.

"You have considered the question in the point of view most favourable to those gentlemen; for it seems to be proved that the Brissotins were really guilty; but guilty or not, the days are gone by when men fought for personal interests. England shed torrents of blood for the families of York and Lancaster, France for those of Lorraine and Bourbon; but do *we* live in those times of barbarism?"

THE NIMOIS.

"So we abandoned the Marseillais as soon as we perceived that they wished for the counter-revolution, and that

they fought in private quarrels. The mask fell when they refused to publish the Constitution, and we then pardoned some irregularities in the Mountain. We forgot Rabaud and his Jeremiads in contemplating the infant Republic, surrounded by the most monstrous of coalitions, threatening to stifle it in its cradle—in contemplating the joy of the aristocrats and the armed hostility of Europe."

THE MARSEILLAIS.

"You meanly abandoned us after inciting us by ephemeral deputations."

THE NIMOIS.

"We were sincere, but you were double-dealing: we desired the Republic, we could not but accept a Republican Constitution. You were dissatisfied with the Mountain, and with the 31st of May; you then should also have accepted the Constitution in order to get rid of it, and terminate its mission."

THE MARSEILLAIS.

"We too wish for the Republic, but we wish our Constitution to be formed by representatives free in their operations; we wish for liberty, but we wish to receive it from representatives whom we esteem, we do not wish that our Constitution should protect plunder and anarchy. Our first condition is, that there shall be no Clubs, none of those frequent primary assemblies, that property shall be respected."

THE MANUFACTURER OF MONTPELLIER.

"It is clear to every reflecting person, that a part of Marseilles is for the counter-revolution: they profess to wish for the Republic, but this is only a curtain which they would every day render more transparent, until they accustomed you to contemplate the counter-revolution undis-

guised; the veil which covers it is already but a flimsy one: your people are well disposed, but in time the mass of them would be perverted but for the genius of the Revolution which watches over them.

"Our troops have deserved well of their country for having taken up arms against you with so much energy; it was not their duty to imitate the army of 1789, since you are not the nation. The centre of unity is the Convention; that is the true sovereign, especially when the people are divided.

"You have overturned every law, every decent form. By what right did you cashier your Department? Had it been formed at Marseilles? By what right does the battalion of your town traverse the districts? By what right did your National Guards pretend to enter Avignon? The district of that town was the first constituted body since the Department was dissolved. By what right did you presume to enter the territory of the Drôme? and why do you suppose that Department has no right to call upon the public force to defend it? You have then confounded all rights; you have established anarchy; and since you pretend to justify your operations by the right of force, you are brigands, anarchists.

"You have set up a popular government, appointed by Marseilles alone; it is contrary to every law; it cannot be other than a tribunal of blood, since it is the tribunal of a faction; you have by force subjected to that tribunal the whole of your Department. And by what right? You do then usurp that authority with which you unjustly reproach Paris. Your Committee of the Sections has recognised affiliations. Here then is a coalition similar to that of the clubs against which you exclaim; your Committee has exercised acts of administration over certain communes of the Var; this is a breach of the territorial division.

"At Avignon you have imprisoned without mandate, decree, or requisition from the administrative bodies; you have violated the retreats of families, infringed the liberty of individuals; you have in the public places murdered in cold blood; you have revived with aggravated horror the scenes which afflicted the early days of the Revolution; without examination, without trial, without other knowledge of the victims than from the designation of their enemies, you have seized them, torn them from their children, dragged them through the streets, and sabred them to death: you have sacrificed in this manner as many as thirty; you have dragged the statue of liberty through the mire; you have made a public execution of it, and have subjected it to every kind of insult from licentious youths; you have mangled it with swords; you cannot deny it; it was noon-day; more than two hundred of your party were present at this criminal profanation; the procession passed through several streets to the Place de l'Horloge, &c. &c. I must interrupt my reflections and my indignation. And is it thus that you wish for the Republic? You have retarded the march of our armies, by stopping the convoys. How can we resist the evidence of so many facts? or how call you other than enemies of your country?"

THE OFFICER.

"There is the clearest evidence that the Marseillais have hindered the operations of our armies, and sought the destruction of liberty; but the question before us now is, whether they have any thing to hope, and what course remains for them to pursue."

THE MARSEILLAIS.

"We have fewer resources than I thought; but there is great strength in being resolved to die; and we will rather

do so than again receive the yoke of the men who governed the state; you know that a drowning man catches at every twig, and rather than suffer ourselves to be massacred, we will——. Yes, we have all taken part in this new Revolution, and we should all be sacrificed to revenge. Two months ago they had conspired to murder four thousand of our best citizens; judge then to what excesses they would proceed now. We have not forgotten that monster, who was nevertheless one of the heads of the club; he had a citizen hung on the lamp-post (*lanterne*), plundered his house, and violated his wife, after making her drink a glass of her husband's blood."

THE OFFICER.

"How horrid!—but is that story true? I doubt it, for you know that nobody believes in violation now-a-days."

THE MARSEILLAIS.

"Yes, rather than submit to such men we will go to the last extremity—we will give ourselves to the enemy; we will call in the Spaniards. There is no people whose character is less congenial with our own; there is no one more hateful to us. Judge, then, by the sacrifice which we make, of the wickedness of the men whom we fear."

THE OFFICER.

"Give yourselves to the Spaniards!—we will not give you time."

THE MARSEILLAIS.

"They are seen every day before our ports."

THE NIMOIS.

"That threat alone is sufficient for me to decide which is for the Republic, the Mountain or the Federals. The Mountain was at one moment the weakest, and the commo-

tion appeared general. Yet did it ever talk of calling in the enemy? Do you not know that the war between the patriots and the despots of Europe is a war unto death? If then you hope for assistance from the latter, your leaders must have good reasons to expect their favour. But I have still too good an opinion of your people, to believe that the majority of them would go with you in the execution of so base a project."

THE OFFICER.

"Do you think that you would thereby do a great injury to the Republic, and that your threat is really alarming? Let us weigh it. The Spaniards have no troops wherewith to effect a landing, and their vessels cannot enter your port. If you were to call in the Spaniards it might be useful to those who govern you, in saving themselves and part of their property; but the indignation would be general throughout the Republic; in less than a week you would have sixty thousand men at your gates, the Spaniards would carry off from Marseilles whatever they could, and enough would still be left to enrich the conquerors.

"If the Spaniards had thirty or forty thousand men on board their fleet, all ready to disembark, your threat would be alarming; but as matters are, it is only ridiculous; it would only hasten your destruction."

THE MANUFACTURER OF MONTPELLIER.

"If you were capable of so base an act, not one stone ought to be left upon another in your superb city. In a month from this time, it should appear to the traveller passing over its ruins as if it had been destroyed for a century."

THE OFFICER.

"Marseillais, take my advice; throw off the yoke of the small number of bad men who would lead you to a counter-revolution, restore your constituted authorities; accept the Constitution; liberate the Representatives; let them go to Paris and intercede for you. You have been misled; it is not unusual for the people to be so by a few conspirators and intriguers; in all ages the pliancy and ignorance of the multitude have been the cause of most civil wars."

THE MARSEILLAIS.

"Ah! Sir, who can do any good to Marseilles? Can the refugees who arrive on all sides from the Department? They are interested in acting with desperation. Can they who govern us? are not they in the same situation? Can the people? One part of them does not know its position; it is rendered blind and fanatical: the other part is disarmed, suspected, humbled. With profound affliction then I contemplate irremediable calamities."

THE OFFICER.

"You are at last brought to reason: why should not a like revolution be effected in the minds of a great number of your fellow-citizens, who are deceived and sincere? Then Albitte, who cannot but wish to spare French blood, will send to you some honest and able man; an understanding will be come to, and without a moment's delay, the army will be marched off to the neighbourhood of Perpignan to humble the pride of the Spaniard, which a little success has elevated, and Marseilles will still be the centre of gravity to liberty, it will only be necessary to tear a few pages from its history."

This happy prognostication put us all in good humour; the Marseillais very readily paid for a few bottles of Champagne, which dissipated all our cares and anxieties. We went to bed at two in the morning, having agreed to meet again at breakfast, where the Marseillais had many more doubts to propose, and I had many interesting truths to acquaint him with.

July 29, 1793.

No. II.

BUONAPARTE'S LETTER TO GENERAL PAOLI.

"GENERAL,

"I was born when my country was perishing. Thirty thousand Frenchmen, landed on our coast, bathing the throne of liberty in streams of blood, such was the odious spectacle which first presented itself to my sight. The cries of the dying, the groans of the oppressed, the tears of despair were the companions of my infant days. You quitted our island and with you disappeared all hopes of happiness; slavery was the reward of our submission; loaded with the triple chain of the soldier, the legislator, and the tax-gatherer, our countrymen live despised—despised by those who have the command over us. Is it not the greatest pain that one who has the slightest elevation of sentiment can suffer? Can the wretched Peruvian writhing under the tortures of the avaricious Spaniard feel a greater? No! wretches, whom a desire of gain and plunder corrupts, to justify themselves, have invented calumnies against the national government and against you, Sir, in particular. Authors, confiding in their veracity, transmit them to posterity. While perusing them my heart boils with indignation, and I have resolved to dissipate these delusions, the offspring of ignorance. An early study of the French language, long observation, and the memorials to which I have had access in the portfolios of the patriots, have led me to promise myself some success. I wish to compare your government with the present one. I wish to blacken with the pencil of

dishonour those who have betrayed the common cause. I wish to call before the tribunal of public opinion those who are in power, set forth their vexatious proceedings, expose their secret intrigues, and if possible interest the present virtuous minister in the deplorable situation that we are now in. If my fortune permitted me to live in the capital, I should have found out other means of making known our complaints, but being obliged to serve in the army, I find myself thus compelled to make use of this, the only means of publicity; for as to private memorials, either they would not reach the government, or, stifled by the clamour of the parties concerned, they would only occasion the ruin of the author.

"Still young, my enterprise may seem daring; but love for truth, of my country, and fellow-citizens, that enthusiasm which the prospect of an amelioration in our state always gives, bear me up. If you, General, condescend to approve of a work in which your name will so often occur, if you condescend to encourage the efforts of a young man whom you have known from infancy, and whose parents were always attached to the good cause, I shall dare to augur favourably of my success. I hoped at one time to be able to go to London to express to you the sentiments you have raised in my bosom, and to converse together on the misfortunes of our country; but the distance is an objection. Perhaps a time will come when I shall be able to overcome it. Whatever may be the success of my undertaking, I know that it will raise against me the numerous body of Frenchmen who govern our island and whom I attack; but what matters it so as the welfare of my country is concerned! I shall hear the wicked upbraid; and if the bolt falls, I shall examine my heart and shall recollect the lawfulness of my motives, and at that moment I shall defy it.

"Permit me, General, to offer you the homage of my family—why should I not add, of my countrymen? They sigh at the recollection of a time when they had hoped for liberty. My mother, Madame Letitia, has charged me above all to recal to your remembrance the years long since passed at Corté.

"I remain with respect, General,

"Your most humble and most obedient servant,

"NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE,

"Officer in the Regiment of La Fère.

"*Auxonne in Burgundy, June 12, 1789.*"

No. III.

EXTRACT FROM THE PROCES-VERBAL OF THE NOBILITY OF THE STATES-GENERAL OF 1614. P. 113.

"ON Tuesday, 25th of November, having obtained an audience, Mon. de Senecey addressed the King thus:

"Sire,

"The goodness of our kings has always granted to their nobility the privilege of having recourse to them on all occasions, the greatness of their quality bringing them near their own persons, so that they have always been the principal executors of their royal behests.

"I should never have done, Sire, were I to recapitulate to your Majesty all that antiquity has handed down to us of the pre-eminence which birth has given to this order, and what distinction there is between it and the rest of the people, with which it can suffer no sort of comparison. I could extend the subject, Sire, to a great length; but a truth so glaring has need of no other testimony than that which is known to all the world——and then I speak before the King; whom we hope to find as jealous to preserve to us that lustre which we share with him, as we should ourselves be anxious to require and intreat it of him, sorry that an extraordinary novelty opens our mouth rather to complaints than to the very humble supplications for which we are at this time assembled.

"Sire, your Majesty has been pleased to assemble the States-General of the three orders of your kingdom, orders

destined and separated from each other by their functions and their rank. The church, dedicated to the service of God and for the direction of souls, holds the first rank. We honour the prelates and ministers as fathers and mediators for our reconciliation with God.

The nobility, Sire, holds the second rank. It is the right arm of justice, the support of your throne, and is the invincible defence of the state. Under the happy auspices and by the brave conduct of our kings, at the price of their blood and by the force of their victorious arms, the public peace has been established, and by their endeavours the Commons are enabled to enjoy the conveniences which peace affords them.

"This order, Sire, which holds the third rank in the assembly, an order composed of the people, both of town and country, these last are dependants on and under the jurisdiction of the two first orders; those of the towns, commoners, tradesmen, and some officers. These are they who forgetting their situation and all sort of duty, without the consent of those whom they represent, wish to compare themselves to us.

"I blush, Sire, to tell you the terms which have anew offended us. They compare your state to a family composed of three brothers. They say that the ecclesiastical order is the eldest, ours the second, and *their own the youngest.* Into what a miserable condition are we fallen, if this be true! After that, what would be the use of so many services rendered from time immemorial, so many honours and dignities transmitted hereditarily to the nobility, and deserved by their labours and fidelity, had they really, instead of raising it, abased it, so that it should be in the most intimate sort of society with the common people, that subsists among men, namely brotherhood. And not con-

tented with calling themselves brothers, they attribute to themselves the restoration of the state in which, as France well enough knows, they had no share; so that every one knows that they can in no manner compare themselves to us, and a pretension, with so poor a foundation, would be insupportable.

"Do justice, Sire, and by an equitable decree cause them to return to their duty and acknowledge who we are and what a difference there is between us. We humbly beseech this of your Majesty, in the name of all the French nobility, since it is in their name that we now come; that preserving their pre-eminence, they may devote, as they always have done, their lives and honour to the service of your Majesty."*

* Appendix, Nos. IV. and V. will be found at the end of Vol. iv.

No. VI.

CHARACTER OF MARAT, BY BRISSOT.

"I ALSO saw the experiments which Marat published on light and fire, and which had excited my curiosity. The independent character which that man, since become so noted, displayed, induced me to seek his acquaintance, and we became intimately connected. Marat related to me certain circumstances of his life, which increased my esteem for him. He held himself forth as the apostle of liberty, and had written, when in England in 1775, a work on this subject, which was entitled 'The Chains of Slavery.' In this publication he unmasked the corruption of the court and of the administration. The work, he told me, had made a great noise in England, and that he had been rewarded by valuable presents, and by his admission into corporations, and the freedom of several cities. He spoke to me of his connexion with the celebrated Kauffman, of his prodigious success in practice, which was so great, that on his *debut* at Paris he was paid thirty-six livres every visit, and had not time sufficient for all the consultations to which he was called. Though he was very well lodged, I did not see that sort of luxury which might have been the result of the wealth that was showered on him. But I have already observed that I was habitually credulous; and it is only in going over the different circumstances of my connexion with this detestable man, in bringing into one point of view the part which he has acted in the Revolution, that I have

been convinced of the quackery which through his whole life directed and veiled his actions and his writings.

"Marat told me, that having made great discoveries in natural philosophy, he quitted practice, which at Paris was the profession only of a quack, and unworthy of himself. But while he renounced his profession he sold from time to time remedies and bottles, the efficacy of which he warranted, and he was very careful to name the price. I recollect that a wart on my hand having struck his eye, he sent me a bottle of very limpid water, for which I thanked him, and asked him the price, which was twelve livres. I made no use of the remedy. Marat had given me some distrust, if not of his success, at least of his medical knowledge. He told me one day, that in order to cure himself of the cholic, he wanted to have his belly opened, but that happily for him the surgeon had not the complaisance to comply with his desire.

"Marat was so entirely full of himself, of his discoveries, and of the glory which he fancied he deserved, that he did not appear to me to feel the slightest impression of beauty, and he was certainly little calculated to please. Nevertheless, he had found the secret of exciting an attachment in Madame La Marquise de L——, a woman whose elegant mind rendered her conversation highly interesting. Being separated from her husband, who was overwhelmed with debts, and dishonoured by a course of infamous conduct, she put herself under the care of Marat; who did not confine his attentions to her as a physician, but was ambitious of succeeding the husband. This union for a long time astonished me. The lady was soft, amiable, and good; and there was nothing so disgusting, violent, and savage in domestic life as Marat.

"I must do him the justice to observe, that the rigour

which he exercised against others, he exercised also on himself. Insensible of the pleasures of the table, and the enjoyments of life, he consecrated all his time and his money to philosophical experiments. Employed night and day in repeating them, he would have been contented with bread and water, in order to have the pleasure of humbling at some future day the Academy of Sciences. This was the *ne plus ultra* of his ambition. Enraged at the academicians, who had treated his first essays with contempt, he thirsted with the desire of vengeance, and to overturn the first of their idols, Newton; for which purpose he employed himself wholly in experiments destined to destroy his principles of optics. To combat and overthrow the reputation of celebrated men was his ruling passion: such was the motive which dictated the first of his works—his treatise on 'The Principles of Man,' which appeared in 1775, in three volumes, and which Voltaire burlesqued in his questions on the Encyclopedia.

"The system of Helvetius was then in the greatest vogue, and it was against Helvetius that Marat wished to enter the lists. Certainly Voltaire was in the right to ridicule some of the propositions and extravagancies of Marat; but he did not do him justice in other points of view.

"The academicians, for instance, were violently exasperated against his experiments on light, on fire, and on electricity; and I have never seen any of them distinguish or acknowledge what was new or valuable in his experiments; nor did they wish his name even to be pronounced, so fearful were they of contributing even by their criticisms to his celebrity. I own that this injustice on the part of the class of experimental philosophers has always disgusted me; and this was what dictated a chapter in my treatise on truth, on academical prejudice, page 353, which

I composed, at the end of a long and warm dispute I had with the geometrician La P——, which chapter is a faithful recital of this dispute. La P—— might possibly be in the right, and I might answer with too much harshness; but I could not bear the insolence and despotism with which they treated a philosopher, because he did not, like themselves, wear a gown.

"I followed Marat's experiments for three years, and I thought that some esteem was due to a man who had buried himself in solitude to enlarge the bounds of science: not indeed that this was his first view; for he regarded only himself; he speculated on the sciences only for his own glory, and was anxious to raise his reputation on the wreck of that of others.

"He had not failed to observe, that journalists were privileged distributors of fame; but his vanity, insolence, and arrogance had made him totally neglected by those whose good offices he sought after. He knew that I was connected with many amongst them; and I believe it is to this circumstance that I was indebted for that kind of attachment which he professed for me during so many years. He was continually sending me extracts from his works, and criticisms written on them with his own hand. I never could have conceived that any one could have had the impudence to bestow so many praises on himself; but considering him only as a person suffering under literary oppression, I exerted myself in making his works known, and I often succeeded. He never thanked me; and the reason was, that in spite of my esteem for his knowledge and his discoveries, I did not fully share in the admiration which he complaisantly felt for himself; and being sometimes in doubt as to the truth of his propositions, I undertook to soften his ex-

aggerations, especially in the praising parts. This modesty which I felt on his account he never forgave.

"As I earnestly wished for his success, I continued to bring him new acquaintance to see his experiments. I know not by what fatality every one left his house very well pleased with his philosophical feats, and very ill satisfied with the philosopher. He expressed himself with difficulty, his ideas were confused; and as his vanity was easily awakened by the slightest opposition or the least sign of contempt or indifference, he became suddenly enraged, and his fury rose to such a height, that his ideas were disordered, and he lost his recollection. I saw one day a striking instance of this inflammability. Volta, so celebrated for his experiments on electricity, was very curious to see those which Marat announced as overturning the theory of Franklin; but scarcely had he repeated a few of them and heard one or two objections, than, suspecting Volta's incredulity, he insulted him grossly, instead of answering his objections.

"He was however conscious of his difficulty in speaking, and of his want of temper in conversation, which were the reason why he sought the acquaintance of a literary man who had abilities for speaking, and who could display his theory for him; after which he would have appeared in his temple like a God, to receive the incense of simple mortals.

"He made me this proposition several times. I objected on account of my timidity, and my ignorance in experimental philosophy. He promised to initiate me in a short time into the most abstruse mysteries of his discoveries. I constantly persisted in my refusal, because I did not wish to be any man's second; because I never had any very strong passion for that branch of knowledge; because I did not think myself sufficiently skilled in making experiments; and in

fine, because my feelings led me rather to shun Marat than become more intimately connected with him. Curiosity, and the wish to procure information had made me seek his acquaintance; the desire of being useful to him, because he seemed oppressed, had induced me to keep up that acquaintance; but he had never inspired me with any of those sentiments that constitute the delight of friendship.

"It was from a sentiment of humanity that I procured him the sale of his books, and little chests of instruments: from the earnestness which he discovered in collecting the little profit of his works, I judged that he was in distress, although he had too much pride to acknowledge it. Alas! this service, which I did him gratuitously, has since furnished him matter for treating me with the most atrocious insults in one of his numbers. So far was I from withholding the money for his works, that I would have shared my purse with him, had I then been provided for myself.

"I have at all times done justice to Marat, and I will continue to do so, though I owe to him a part of the persecutions which I am now suffering. He was indefatigable in labour, and had great address in making experiments; a tribute which I heard Franklin once render him, who was enchanted with his experiments on light. I cannot say so much for those on fire and electricity. Marat thought he had made discoveries which overthrew the system of Franklin; but Franklin was not the dupe of his quackery. Le Roy, the academician, who was named commissary to examine his discoveries on light, agreed that those which he had made on the prism were ingenious, and that Marat had a singular talent in making them. His report was in many respects favourable, but some of the academicians forced him to suppress it.

"Marat was most earnestly solicitous to obtain an eulo-

gium from the Academy of Sciences, and this earnestness suggested the idea of a stratagem which cost him immense labour. He undertook making a new translation of Newton's Principia on optics. This was a new mode of destroying the system; for I have no doubt but that he made alterations in translating it. He wished the Academy to give their approbation of this translation; but his name would have excited their suspicions, and led them to examine the work with more severity. In order to avoid suspicion, he proposed to many of his friends to lend him their name; and he succeeded with Baussée, the grammarian, a weak and easy man, who was not aware of Marat's manœuvres. With Baussée's name, the commissaries of the Academy did not hesitate to give, without reading, their approbation and praises to the work of their enemy. I cannot tell what advantage he reaped from it; for this translation is unknown, though it is magnificently printed. Marat made me a present of a copy of it on vellum paper in the beginning of the Revolution.

"At this period Marat was poor, and lived wretchedly; and though since my return from America I have not conversed with him, I do not think that he has changed his principles. He is accused of venality and corruption; but I have never forborne repeating, that he was above corruption. Marat had but one single passion—that of being foremost in the career which he was running. Anxiety for fame was his disease, for he had not that of avarice. He was of a bilious habit, and passionate in his disposition, obstinate in his sentiments, and persevering in his conduct. We may judge of his perseverance from one trait—that although he was under the greatest embarrassment in speaking, he has nevertheless exhibited himself in every tribune. He forgot every thing in pursuit of his favourite object.

"His earnestness to obtain his ends made him employ all

sorts of means, lies and calumny of every kind: he was an actor in every thing. He defended the people as he defended truth in natural philosophy; not for the sake of being useful to the people, for Marat despised them, but in order to accomplish his designs. He found flattery the best mode of obtaining the suffrages of the mob, he therefore flattered them: had tyranny promised him better success, he would have preferred it; but a man must be a tribune, before he becomes a tyrant.

"All his motions were those of a mountebank. He looked like a puppet, whose head and arms were moved at the will of the puppet-show-man. Every thing was abrupt and unconnected in his discourses, as well as in his gestures, because nothing proceeded from his heart, but all from his head, and every thing was artificial.

"Marat loved no man, and had no belief in virtue. He was selfish, never bestowed praise on any writer, and seemed as if all talents and all genius were concentred in himself. He very seriously imagined that he alone was capable of governing France, and entrusted it in confidence to some friends, who were obliged to support the party which protected him, for the chiefs of which he had the most profound contempt.

"I have said that he was daring; notwithstanding which, he was not brave. He had neither the courage of a gladiator, nor that of a philosopher; though he wanted one day to fight with Charles, because he had not spoken with respect of his experiments; and he was continually talking of blood, and challenging the whole world. This rodomontade never imposed on me, for I had seen him too nearly. He was violent, but not courageous; under despotism he was afraid of the Bastille, and since the reign of liberty he has been always in fear of prisons. I shall mention two traits on this head to shew his character.

"Marat in 1780 was a candidate for the prize given by the Economical Society of Berne, on the question of the reform of the criminal law. This society delayed every year pronouncing its judgment. In 1782, I advertised my Collection of Criminal Laws in ten volumes. Marat begged me to insert the memoir which he had addressed to the Society. There was a boldness in this essay which might prove disagreeable to government. I asked Marat if he wished his name to appear. 'By no means,' answered he, 'for the Bastille is there, and I do not much like to be shut up:' and he left me to run the chance, as my name appeared at the head of the collection.

"I met him one day in the Thuilleries, in 1786 or 1787: it was a long time since I had seen him. We talked of his works; I asked him why he was so bent on pursuing natural philosophy, when he had against him all the academies and all the philosophers. I advised him to consecrate his labours to politics. 'It is time,' I observed to him, 'to think of overturning despotism; join your labours to mine, and to those enlightened men who have sworn its overthrow, and this undertaking will cover you with glory.' Marat answered, that he would rather continue his experiments in peace, because philosophy did not lead to the Bastille; and he made me understand very plainly, that the French people were not sufficiently ripe, nor sufficiently courageous to support a revolution.

"When the Bastille was overthrown, Marat was no longer afraid of it, and quitted his cave. He even pretended at this period that all the honours of this glorious Revolution belonged to himself; and making up some sort of story about a colonel of dragoons whom he had arrested on the Pont-Neuf, he entreatedme to print it in the *Patriote François*. He bestowed so many extravagant praises on himself in the account, that I could not carry my complaisance so far. I

therefore struck out the praises, and published the fact; which Marat never forgave. As he despaired of finding journalists who would flatter him, he undertook a journal himself, which I advertised with an eulogium, in order to get him subscribers; and in doing him this service, which I never refused to any of my brother journalists, I thought I did service to the public. Good God! how great was my error! and what was my surprise, when I read some of his numbers! How was it possible that a writer who had any respect for himself could become so degraded as to make use of a style so vile, scandalous, and atrocious!

"I own that I thought Marat a mean writer, an inconsistent logician, incredulous as to morals, ambitious, an enemy to all men of talents, but I did not think that he would violate every principle, every law, so far as to calumniate the most virtuous men, and preach massacre and pillage. . . . . I stop here . . . . And I finish with this reflection: Whatever injury Marat may have done me, I forgive; but I can never forgive him for having corrupted the morals of the people, and having inspired them with a taste for blood; for without morals and without humanity there is no republic.

"I have thought it right to enlarge with respect to this man, because he is better known from that part of his life preceding the Revolution than that which followed. Since 1789 he has been constantly on stilts; before that period, you see him at home, and more like himself.

"In spite of the provocations of Marat, I have never thought it right to reveal to the world the circumstances which I have just related. Personal discussions have always been disagreeable to me, and seemed to me only fitted to serve the purposes of the enemies of the Revolution."

No. VII.

ACCOUNT OF THE GIRONDINS, SILLERY AND LA SOURCE.

"I HAVE yet only given you a general outline of our prison; but there was one scene of calamity which myself and my family were alone doomed to witness, and in which our fellow-captives had no share. Our apartment, with two others adjoining, was separated from the public room by a little passage and a door, which the *huissiers* carefully locked at night. It happened that these apartments were then occupied by two persons, in whose society we had passed some of the most agreeable hours of our residence in France. These persons were Sillery and La Source, two of the members of the Convention, who had been long in close confinement, and who were now on the point of appearing before that sanguinary tribunal, whence, after the most shocking mockery of justice, they were inhumanly dragged to the scaffold. Sillery, on account of his infirmities, had with much difficulty obtained permission from the police for his servant to be admitted into the prison during the day, together with an old female friend, who, on the plea of his illness, had implored leave to attend him as his nurse, with that eloquence which belongs to affliction, and which sometimes even the most hardened hearts are unable to resist. While men assume over our sex so many claims to superiority, let them at least bestow on us the palm of constancy, and allow that in the fidelity of our attachments we have the

right of pre-eminence. Those prisons from which men shrunk back with terror, and where they often left their friends abandoned, lest they should be involved in their fate—women, in whom the force of sensibility overcame the fears of female weakness, demanded and sometimes obtained permission to visit, in defiance of all the dangers that surrounded their gloomy walls. Sillery's friend and his servant being allowed to go in and out of his apartment, the door was not kept constantly locked, although he and La Source were closely confined, and not permitted to have any communication with the other prisoners. The second night of our abode in the Luxembourg, when the prisoners had retired to their respective chambers, and the keeper had locked the outer door which enclosed our three apartments, La Source entered our room. Oh! how different was this interview from those meetings of social enjoyment that were embellished by the charms of his conversation, always distinguished by a flow of eloquence, and animated by that enthusiastic fervour which peculiarly belonged to his character! La Source was a native of Languedoc, and united with very superior talents that vivid warmth of imagination for which the southern provinces of France have been renowned since the period when, awakened by the genial influence of those luxuriant regions, the song of the Troubadours burst from the gloom of Gothic barbarism. Liberty in the soul of La Source was less a principle than a passion, for his bosom beat high with philanthropy; and in his former situation as a Protestant minister he had felt in a peculiar manner the oppression of the ancient system. His sensibility was acute; and his detestation of the crimes by which the Revolution had been sullied, was in proportion to his devoted attachment to its cause. La Source was polite and amiable in his manners; he had a taste for music and a powerful voice, and sung, as

he conversed, with all the energy of feeling. • After the day had passed in the fatigue of public debates, he was glad to lay aside the tumult of politics in the evening, for the conversation of some literary men whom he met occasionally at our tea-table. Ah, how little did we then foresee the horrors of that period when we should meet him in the gloom of a prison, a proscribed victim, with whom this melancholy interview was beset with danger!

"We were obliged to converse in whispers, while we kept watch successively at the outer door, that if any step approached, he might instantly fly to his chamber. He had much to ask; having been three months a close prisoner, and knowing little of what was passing in the world; and though he seemed to forget all the horrors of his situation in the consolation he derived from these moments of confidential conversation, yet he frequently lamented, that this last gleam of pleasure which was shed over his existence was purchased at the price of our captivity. In the solitude of his prison, no voice of friendship, no accents of pity had reached his ear! and after our arrival, he used through the lonely day to count the hours till the prison-gates were closed, till all was still within its walls, and no sound was heard without, except, at intervals, the hoarse cry of the sentinels, when he hastened to our apartment. The discovery of these visits would indeed have exposed us to the most fatal consequences; but our sympathy prevailed over our fears; nor could we, whatever might be the event, refuse our devoted friend this last melancholy satisfaction. La Source at his second visit was accompanied by Sillery, the husband of Madame de Sillery (Genlis), whose writings are so well known in England. Sillery was about sixty years of age; had lived freely, like most men of his former rank in France; and from this dissipated life had more the appearance of age

than belonged to his years. His manners retained the elegance, by which that class was distinguished which Mr. Burke has denominated "the Corinthian capital of polished society." Sillery had a fine taste for drawing, and during his confinement displayed the powers of his pencil by tracing beautiful landscapes. He also amused himself by reading history; and possessing considerable talents for literature, had recorded with a rich warmth of colouring the events of the Revolution, in which he had been a distinguished actor, and of which he had treasured up details precious for history. With keen regret he told me that he had committed several volumes of manuscript to the flames, a sad sacrifice to the Omars of the day.

"The mind of Sillery was somewhat less fortified against his approaching fate than that of La Source. The old man often turned back on the past and wept, and sometimes inquired with an anxious look, if we believed there was any chance of his deliverance. Alas! I have no words to paint the sensations of those moments!—To know that the days of our fellow-captives were numbered—that they were doomed to perish—that the bloody tribunal before which they were going to appear, was but the pathway to the scaffold—to have the painful task of stifling our feelings, while we endeavoured to soothe the weakness of humanity by hopes which we knew were fallacious, was a species of misery almost insupportable. There were moments, indeed, when the task became too painful to be endured. There were moments when, shocked by some new incident of terror, this cruel restraint gave way to uncontrolable emotion; when the tears, the sobbings of convulsive anguish, would no longer be suppressed, and our unfortunate friends were obliged to give instead of receiving consolation.

"They had in their calamity that support which is, of all others, the most effectual under misfortune. Religion was in La Source a habit of the mind. Impressed with the most sublime ideas of the Supreme Being, although the ways of heaven never appeared more dark or intricate than in this triumph of guilt over innocence, he reposed with unbounded confidence in that Providence in whose hand are the issues of life and death. Sillery, who had a feeling heart, found devotion the most soothing refuge of affliction. He and La Source composed together a little hymn adapted to a sweet solemn air, which they called their evening service. Every night before we parted they sung this simple dirge in a low tone, to prevent their being heard in the other apartments, which made it seem more plaintive. Those mournful sounds, the knell of my departing friends, yet thrill upon my heart!

"Calme nos allarmes,
Prete nous les armes,
Source de vrai bien,
Brise nos liens!
Entends les accens
De tes enfans
Dans les tourmens;
Ils souffrent, et leurs larmes
C'est leur seul encens.

Prends notre défense,
Grand Dieu de l'innocence!
Près de toi toujours
Elle trouve son secours;
Tu connois nos cœurs,
Et les auteurs
De nos malheurs;
D'un sort qui t'offense
Détruis la rigueur.

Quand la tyrannie
Frappe notre vie,
Fiers de notre sort,
Méprisant la mort,
Nous te bénissons,
Nous triomphons,
Et nous savons
Qu'un jour, la patrie
Vengera nos noms!

"La Source often spoke of his wife with tender regret. He had been married only a week, when he was chosen a member of the Legislative Assembly, and was obliged to hasten to Paris, while his wife remained in Languedoc to take care of an aged mother. When the Legislative Assembly was dissolved, La Source was immediately elected a member of the National Convention, and could find no interval in which to visit his native spot or his wife, whom he saw no more. In his meditations on the chain of political events, he mentioned one little incident which seemed to hang on his mind with a sort of superstitious feeling. A few days after the 10th of August, he dined in the Fauxbourg St. Antoine with several members of the Legislative Assembly, who were the most distinguished for their talents and patriotism. They were exulting in the birth of the new Republic, and the glorious part they were to act as its founders, when a citizen of the Fauxbourg, who had been invited to partake of the repast, observed, that he feared a different destiny awaited them. 'As you have been the founders of the Republic said he, 'you will also be its victims. In a short time you will be obliged to impose restraints and duties on the people, to whom your enemies and theirs will represent you as having overthrown regal power only to establish

your own. You will be accused of aristocracy; and I foresee,' he added with much seeming perturbation, 'that you will all perish on the scaffold.'

"The company smiled at his singular prediction; but during the ensuing winter, when the storm was gathering over the political horizon, La Source recalled the prophecy, and sometimes reminded Vergniaud of the man of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine. Vergniaud had little heeded the augur; but a few days previous to the 31st of May, when the Convention was for the first time besieged, La Source said again to Vergniaud, 'Well, what think you of the prophet of the Fauxbourg?' 'The prophet of the Fauxbourg,' answered Vergniaud, 'was in the right.'

"The morning now arrived when La Source and Sillery, together with nineteen other members of the Convention, were led before the revolutionary tribunal. When the guards who were to conduct them arrived, the other prisoners crowded to the public room to see them pass, and we shut ourselves up in our own apartment. They returned about five in the evening; soon after which their counsel arrived, and we had no opportunity of seeing them till midnight, when they related to us what had passed. The conduct of the judges and the aspect of the jury were calculated to banish every gleam of hope from the bosoms of the prisoners; the former permitted with reluctance any thing to be urged in their defence, and the latter listened with impatience, casting upon their victims looks of atrocity in which they might easily read their fate; yet in spite of these unhappy omens, our friends returned from the tribunal with their minds much elevated. La Source described in his eloquent language the noble enthusiasm of liberty, the ardent love of their country, the heroical contempt of death which

animated his colleagues, whom he had not seen for some time, since they had been transferred to the Conciergerie, while himself and Sillery had obtained permission to remain at the Luxembourg upon the certificates of their physicians, that they were too ill to be removed without danger. La Source declared that ancient history offered no model of public virtue beyond that which was exhibited by his friends at the tribunal, and who in their prison, blending with the fortitude of Romans the gaiety of Frenchmen, and being confined in one apartment, passed the short interval of life which was left, in conversation and cheerful repasts which were usually concluded with patriotic songs. 'You,' said Vergniaud to La Source when they met at the tribunal, 'you perhaps will find something to regret in the loss of life. You have a glimpse of the gardens of the Luxembourg, which may remind you that there is something beautiful in nature; but we who live in human shambles, who every day see fresh victims dragged to execution, we are become so familiarised with death, that we look on it with unconcern.'

"A few days before this sanguinary trial ended, the administration of the police sent orders that the English women confined in the Luxembourg should be removed the next day to a convent in the Fauxbourg St. Antoine. With what keen regret La Source and Sillery received this intelligence! A thousand and a thousand times they thanked us for the dangers we had risked in receiving them, and for the sympathy which had soothed the last hours of their existence —a thousand times they declared, that if it were yet possible their lives might be preserved, they should consider themselves for ever bound to us by the most sacred ties of gratitude and friendship; but they felt, alas! how small was the hance that we should meet again in this world. Sillery cut

off a lock of his white hairs, which he begged I would preserve for his sake, and La Source gave me the same relic. They embraced us with much emotion. They prayed that the blessing of God might be upon us; we mingled our tears together, and parted to meet no more!"—*Miss Williams's Letters from France*, vol. i. pp. 44—60.

END OF THE APPENDIX.

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